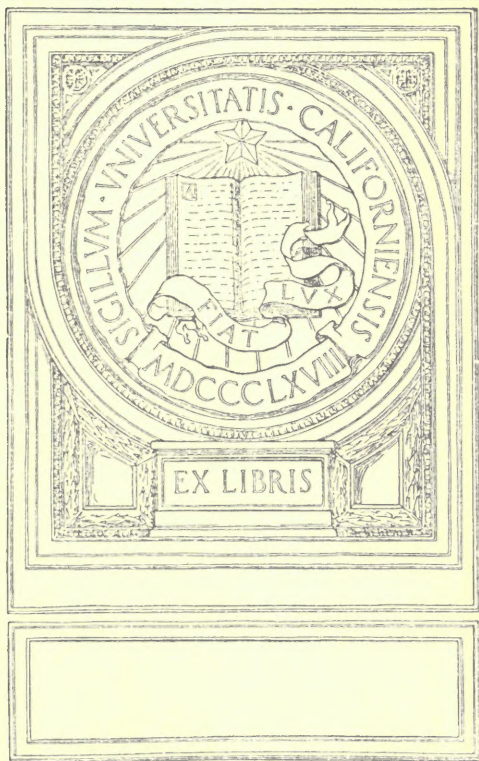


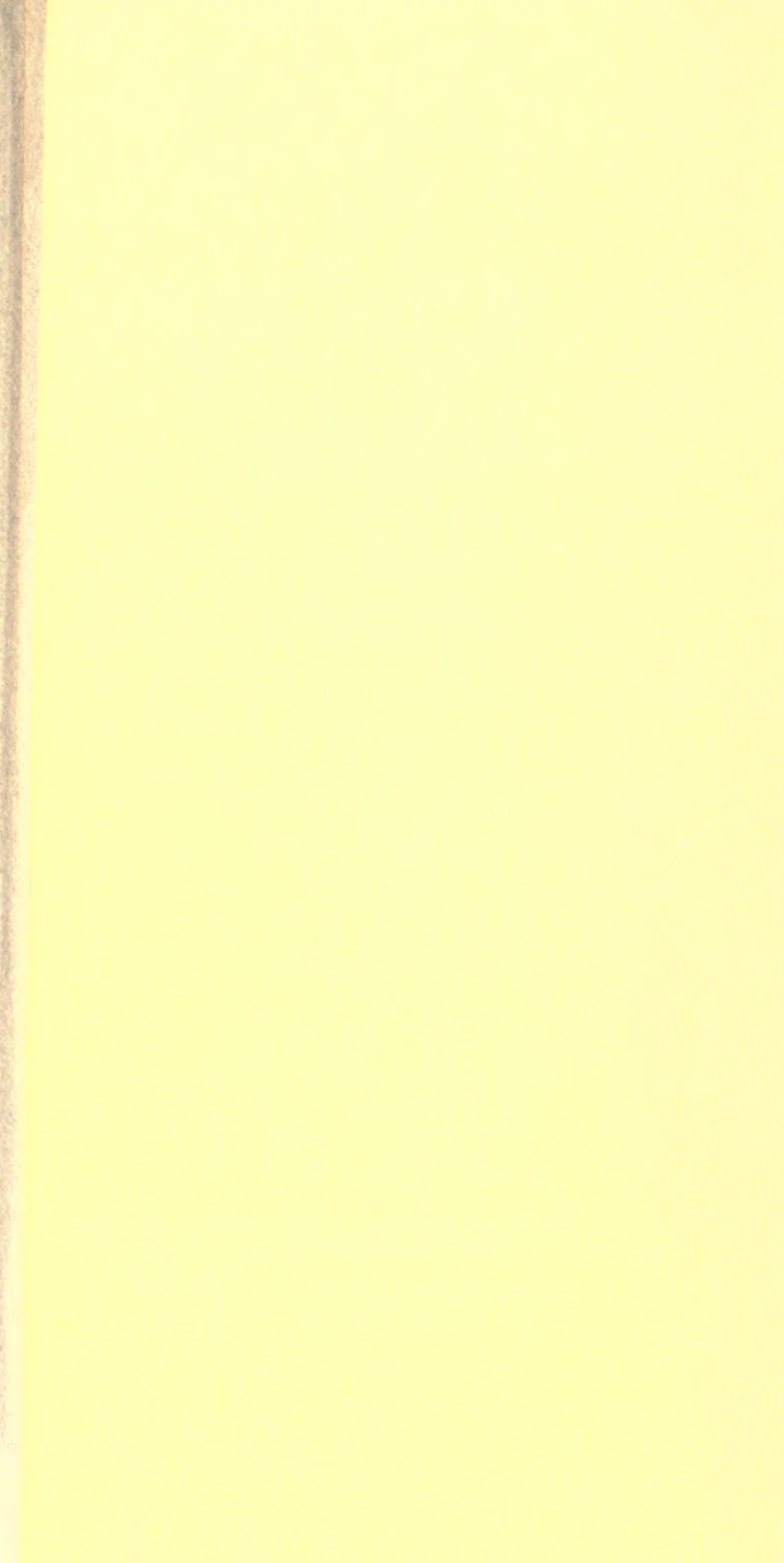


UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES





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AN
IMPARTIAL HISTORY
OF
IRELAND,

FROM THE PERIOD OF THE ENGLISH
INVASION TO THE YEAR 1810.

FROM AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS.



IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

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INTRODUCTION.

History **THOUGH** the ancient History of Ireland, as comprising the period of her glory and independence, may be generally more flattering to the feelings of Irishmen, yet the period since the English invasion is more interesting and instructive to the mixed race who now inhabit this island. The turbulence, the almost constant wars, the perpetual struggle between the invaders and the invaded, the one contending for power, the other for independence and property; the massacres, confiscations, famine, and other cruel methods resorted to, are distressing to a feeling mind: but, narrated with impartiality and judgment, it will afford a most instructive lesson to statesmen and to people; teaching the remedy of present ills from the experience of the past ages. Governors may therein learn the impolicy and weakness of the former system of ruling Ireland, acknowledged by her ablest statesmen when debating on the Union; and the people may learn to mitigate the asperity of religious prejudice, on seeing that English and

Anglo-Irish catholics were poisoned with illiberal prejudice against ancient Irish catholics, and rioted in the licentiousness of oppression as madly and wickedly, if not more so, as English or Anglo-Irish protestants can be accused of.

This is the proper office and the great end of history: it is then truly philosophy teaching by examples. Written in the spirit of conciliation and truth—'tis the school of moral and political wisdom. 'Tis the more necessary in this age and country, as we are still torn by religious and political animosities, inflamed, instead of being healed, by the perusal of almost all the histories hitherto published. The sacred duty of the historian was basely transgressed, and truth was sacrificed to the spirit of party. The English and Anglo-Irish writers on Irish affairs, generally brandished the pen of defamation with a mind no less hostile than that of the warrior wielding the sword in battle: all was panegyric for one side, all satire for the other, dated from the first English libeller, Gyraldus Cambrensis, through the whole pedigree of his successors, Campion, Morrison, Cox, Burnett, Clarendon, Temple, Musgrave, &c. &c.

To give one instance, a little ludicrous, of the extreme partiality of those writers to their own nation and colony, we shall quote Campion. In a battle between the English and

Irish, both Catholics, in which the latter were worsted, this chronicler gravely asserts, that the sun stood still four hours, to enable the conquering army to make a hearty slaughter of their vanquished fellow Catholics.

By this continual havoc of national character, continued so many ages, by writers of different descriptions, the minds of many are so embittered, that truth dare not appear before them in a History of Ireland, but as a lawyer goes to court. It must be armed with documents and evidences; it must be supported with critical ability, to unravel the tissue of falsehood, compiled, sometimes with ability, but always with malice: it requires the abilities of a pleader to detect and expose the false evidence of lying history, by cross-examination and comparison, by chronological accuracy and moral probabilities. Even thus supported, with all requisite authorities and evidences, the number is small, who can so divest themselves of party prejudice, early imbibed and constantly inculcated, as to acknowledge its force. This was not the only obstacle historical truth had to encounter. Power, in the hands of guilty men, dreading its appearance, consigned numerous records to destruction, and made its publication dangerous: nevertheless, the historian must not desert his duty, however arduous or hazardous. When truth advocates

for a fallen people, once renowned for learning, sanctity, and valour, it would be cowardice to abandon it from motives of personal interest or safety; where it lays open their errors and their crimes, it must not be concealed from their posterity by any blind partiality. It is the right and the interest of the present and future generations, to receive nothing but the wholesome instructions of sacred truth, from those who write for them. This shall be inviolably adhered to, with all possible care and caution, in the following work. A faithful portrait shall be given of the parties, whether English or Irish, Protestant or Catholic; in so doing the liberal spirit of our Irish annalists shall be followed, who wrote in their native tongue of the transactions of the English and their Irish colonists with as great impartiality as if they were a neutral and friendly nation who had not inflicted a wound.

It will not appear amiss to preface the narrative with a brief delineation of the state of Ireland at the arrival of Strongbow. Without this the reader will find it difficult to reconcile the ancient and modern history of Ireland. After reading the monuments of Irish valour, displayed in their domestic and foreign wars, he will be astonished at the facility with which a handful of foreigners obtained such ample possessions, in spite of so brave a people; nor can he

easily reconcile it with the long and obstinate wars afterwards maintained by the natives in their own defence.

Before the arrival of the English the constitution of Ireland was annihilated; anarchy and insubordination succeeded to order and regular government, and facilitated the subjugation of the country. We are not to suppose, with some prejudiced writers, that the Irish were a barbarous and uncivilized people, destitute of laws and regular government, because the English found them in a state of anarchy on their arrival. A constitution that lasted upwards of 3000 years, under which learning and religion flourished to that degree, that Ireland became the mart of literature, and merited the title of *The Island of Saints*, could not be entirely destitute of merit. It was at once the most ancient and the most simple; the most conformable to the laws of nature and the revealed law of God. The land was distributed among the clans, as among the tribes of Israel; the landed property among both nations was inalienable; and in each nation measures were adopted to prevent any great inequality of property from intermarriages or mortgages. By the law of Moses, landed property reverted to the original owners at the fiftieth year, or the year of jubilee. By the law of Ireland, every chieftain, at his accession to power, might, with the consent of the seniors of the

clan, cause a survey to be made of the territory of the clan, and a fresh distribution thereof, if any great inequality was apparent. The authors of those laws wisely considered, that any considerable inequality of property would be subversive of liberty.

The boasted constitution of Great Britain is destitute of these salutary precautions and remedies, without which liberty, however obtained, cannot subsist long: her property is power. If the property of a country be in the possession of a few thousand families, the power of the country is consequently in their hands, notwithstanding any popular forms of freedom that may subsist.

The tributes, paid to the chieftains of clans, provincial kings and monarchs of Ireland, were very moderate, and unalterably fixed by the constitution. No monarch, king or chief, could at his pleasure, or by the vote of any body of men, levy a new tax, that was not marked in the constitutional laws of the country; nor can there be found a departure from this fundamental law of the Irish constitution, except in the single instance of the *Boroimhe Laighean*, or Leinster tribute, the exaction of which frequently occasioned bloody wars between the prince of Leinster and the monarch.

The government was patriarchal; that is to say, it was monarchy, partly hereditary, partly elective, through all its gradations, from the

monarch to the chief of a clan; as Justin describes the original governments of mankind to have been. It was hereditary in some certain branch of a clan; but not in any one particular line, descending from father to son, as in the modern hereditary monarchies. It was, by necessity, a free constitution; because a king or chief, who could not encroach upon the property of his subjects, nor keep up a standing army, was utterly unable to enslave his people, who might with greater propriety be stiled his brethren than his subjects. There were no hereditary titles, as at present in Europe, for all were considered equally noble: the only distinction was that of office and profession. Like the Hindoos, the ancient Persians and Egyptians, they were divided into seven casts; that is, warriors, druids, who professed both philosophy and religion, bards, lawyers, antiquarians, mechanics and tillers.

The chief defect in this constitution consisted in the weakness of the supreme executive, and the excess of liberty which frequently degenerated into anarchy and insubordination. In their jealous precautions against the encroachments of tyranny, and for the security of liberty, they did not sufficiently provide for the support of the monarchical government. Without distinguished abilities, virtue and valour, no monarch of Ireland sat securely on his throne, nor always with

them, so that few of the Irish monarchs died a peaceable death. To remedy these deficiencies in the constitution, some wise monarchs, favoured by circumstances, adopted some useful plans: the first was, the institution of the famous Militia of Ireland, called *Feine Erin*, probably occasioned by a dread of the Roman power, composed of seven battalions, of 3000 select men each: the second was, the annexation of Meath, both east and west, to the crown, as an hereditary domain. The alienation of that domain, by a monarch of the Hy-Niall race, was one of the greatest faults ever committed in politics, which finally led to the overthrow of the monarchy and nation; for a king of Ireland, deprived of that domain, was little better than an emperor of Germany without his hereditary states.

The second cause of the downfall of the monarchy and the people, arose from the long and bloody wars between the Normans and the Milesians. For though the conquerors of England and France, after a warfare of two hundred years, were unable to subjugate Ireland; but, on the contrary, were utterly defeated, and irretrievably overthrown, by the victorious arms of the great Brien Boiroimhe; yet the long and bloody contest shook the machine of government, and enabled the conquered to break the feeble springs of a too weak executive.

The usurpation of a provincial king, Brien Boiroimhe, on the hereditary rights of the Hy-Niall race of kings, who commanded respect more from the veneration of the people to the antiquity of their race, and their personal virtues, than from revenue or a standing force, of which they had but a shadow, proved fatal. Other provincial kings followed the example, and the chieftains of clans thought themselves entitled to resist provincial kings, as they had resisted the monarch. Thus, though Roderic O'Connor be commonly considered the last monarch of Ireland, the monarchy may be fairly considered as extinguished by the usurpation of that illustrious hero, Brien Boiroimhe. The south would not acknowledge a monarch of the northern race, and the north would not acknowledge a monarch of the southern race, so that an inexpiable war broke out, which ended in the ruin of the contending parties and of the nation.

Some time before the arrival of the English, Murchertach O'Neill, prince of Ulster, set up his claim to the monarchy. Endeavouring to limit the extravagant pretensions of subordinate chieftains to independence, but by means too harsh, and unsuitable to the turbulent temper of these anarchists, a formidable confederation of chieftains was formed against him secretly, who

suddenly came upon him unawares, with an army of seventy thousand men, headed by Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, demanding his surrender of the diadem. This brave but unfortunate monarch scorned to parley; and, at the head of three thousand men of the Hy-Nial race and their followers, formed the magnanimous resolution to dispute it with the sword against such mighty odds. Unfortunate in his plan of a night attack, in the execution of which his little army, divided into two parties, missed their way, met, mistook, fought, and slaughtered each other miserably; the next day he died, fighting at the head of his men for the hereditary rights of his family, and with him expired the greatest support of Ireland. It sunk under the dominion of the same people, under a new name, whom it had successfully combated during two hundred years, and finally expelled the country scarcely a century before.

The catastrophe, though unexampled for continuance and cruelty, is not without a parallel, as to change of dominion, among other nations renowned for science and valour. Greece, divided at home, was subdued by the Macedonians, and afterwards by the Romans. Egypt, subdued by the Persians, passed from them to the Greeks, afterwards to the Romans, thence

to the Saracens, and lastly to the Turks. Spain, partly subdued by the Carthaginians, entirely by the Romans, afterwards by the Goths, then by the Saracens, whom after a long struggle she finally expelled. But the fate of Ireland was by far more lamentable than that of any of those ancient people; for other conquerors, even heathens, contented themselves with wresting a portion of land from the conquered countries. Rome, for example, took the one-seventh, and left the remainder to the ancient possessors: the Visigoths and Burgundians, on establishing themselves in Gaul, divided the land into three parts, two of which they took to themselves, leaving the third to the vanquished: Clovis, king of the Franks, used a similar policy to those whom he subdued; but those who submitted by treaty and capitulation had not to share their lands with the Franks. But the invaders of Ireland were not satisfied with a part, they should have the whole. From the very commencement they doomed the ancient proprietors to extermination and plunder, following in this the maxim of Gyraldus Cambrensis, *debilitentur deleantur*, i. e. let them be weakened and exterminated. Henry II. after confirming to each provincial king and chieftain the possession of their territories, honors, and rights, immediately afterwards, without the least

cause of complaint, bestowed three-fourths of Ireland on the adventurers.

Besides the forementioned downfall of the monarchy, and the anarchy and interminable feuds which succeeded that fall, other causes contributed to facilitate the reduction of the kingdom. The difference of arms; the superiority of the English, accustomed to continental wars, in planning and conducting a campaign; their knowledge in the construction of fortifications, and carrying on sieges; the use of the cross-bow; their acquaintance with political intrigues, whereby to inflame into mutual hostility a divided people, gave them advantages over a people brave but simple, accustomed to fight in the open plain, frequently appointing the place and day, as if to fight a duel; nor was the bull of Pope Adrian, bestowing Ireland to his countryman Henry II. without its effect, on the minds and fortunes of a people extremely religious and submissive to ecclesiastical authority.

AN
IMPARTIAL HISTORY
OF
IRELAND,

FROM THE PERIOD OF THE ENGLISH INVASION
TO THE YEAR 1810.

THOUGH the disordered state of Ireland, occasioned by the overthrow of the constitution and monarchy, threatened sooner or later the downfall of the nation, the catastrophe was accelerated, as usual, by proximate causes, beyond which the generality of mankind do not look. As the downfall of Troy was immediately occasioned by female lubricity, though without that cause it must have fallen under the dominion of the Greeks, so Ireland had its Helen, captivated not by a buxom youthful Paris, arbiter of celestial beauty, but by an athletic grey-beard, Dermot Mac Morrough, king of Leinster.

Dervorguile, daughter of Mortough Mac Floinn, a prince of Meath, had been espoused against her inclinations to Teighernan O'Rourk, prince of Brefney (Leitrim). This princess always cherished a secret partiality for Dermot, a son of Morrough, king of Leinster, who had paid her his addresses before her marriage. Profiting of the absence of her husband on a pilgrimage, she wrote to him by a special messenger,

requesting him, in violation of conjugal fidelity, to come and deliver her from conjugal engagements contracted with a husband whom she did not love.

O'Rourk, on his return, being apprised of the elopement of his spouse, addressed himself to the monarch, demanding satisfaction for the affront put upon him and his family. O'Connor, being an equitable prince, gave a favourable ear to the complaints of O'Rourk, ordered the forces of Connaught to assemble, who, joined by those of Brefney, Orgiel (Louth), and Meath, entered Leinster, to avenge the insult offered to the prince of Brefney. Dermod, aware of the march of the royal army, and the sentence of excommunication hurled against him by the clergy, called a meeting of the nobles of his kingdom, at Fearná (Ferns), in the county of Wexford, to deliberate on the means of averting the storm that menaced him. His subjects, scandalised by the enormity of his crime, and discontented by the tyranny of his government, instead of supporting him in this critical moment, renounced their allegiance, and put themselves under the protection of the monarch. In this plight, Dermod, abandoned by his own subjects, and too haughty to bend to circumstances, or make reparation for his sins, embraced the desperate and traitorous resolution of calling in a foreign power, and embarked for England. Hereupon the monarch, finding no enemies to combat, destroyed the castle of Ferns, whence he took the unfortunate Dervorguile, whom he

shut up in the monastery of St. Bridget, in the Co. Kildare; after which he dismissed his troops, and returned to the kingdom of Connaught.

The haughty Dermot, in a manner obliged to seek an asylum amongst strangers, breathed vengeance against his revolted subjects, and against the nation in general. He went to request the aid of Henry II. king of England, then in Aquitaine, in order to recover his dominion, promising to yield him obedience as a vassal.

Henry II. was a powerful and ambitious prince. Besides England and Wales, he possessed the duchies of Normandy, Anjou, Aquitaine, Poitou, Touraine, and Maine. He was highly flattered by the offers of the Irish prince, as favouring designs he long had upon Ireland; but replied, that the actual situation of his affairs upon the continent did not allow his giving him any troops; but if he would go to England he would give him the royal authority for levying volunteers. Accordingly he sent orders to his ministers to favour the enterprise of the fugitive.

Taking leave of Henry, Dermot embarked for England, and, arriving at Bristol, he communicated the orders of Henry to the magistrates of that city, who made them public. Richard Strongbow, son of Gilbert, earl of Pembroke, was then at Bristol: he had dissipated his fortune, and contracted immense debts, and was further in disgrace with the king. Thus capable of any enterprise, that might promise to mend his broken fortune, he offered his services to Dermot, who kindly received him, with a proffer

far above what he had reason to expect. For he promised him his daughter Eve in marriage, with an assurance of his succession to the crown of Leinster after his own death, on condition he would aid him to the utmost in its recovery. The condition was joyfully accepted by earl Richard.

Dermod, relying on the promises of his future son-in-law, addressed himself to Ralph Griffin, governor of Wales, and solicited the liberation of Robert Fitz-Stephen, a courageous and experienced officer, who was four years a prisoner of state. Fitz-Stephen having by this means obtained pardon, willingly accepted the condition of volunteering to Ireland, from a country whence he was banished for ever, together with Maurice Fitz-Gerald, his step-brother, who got a promise of the town of Wexford, and some adjoining territory for him and his posterity. Dermod entered into similar engagements with many others, whom he attracted, as Nubrigensis, an English cotemporary writer says, by the hope of a profusion of wealth. The greater part of these volunteers were indigent people, according to the same author, "men struggling with poverty, and greedy of gain."

The king of Leinster, satisfied with the success of his negociations in England, returned to Ireland, where he remained incog. in the city of Ferns, waiting the arrival of his allies.

Fitz-Stephen was urged by two powerful motives not to forget his engagements with Dermod: the liberation he had obtained, on consi-

deration of departing from England as soon as possible; and the flattering recompence that awaited him in Ireland. Having recruited 400 volunteers, of desperate fortune like himself, he landed with them in the month of May, 1169, on the coast of Wexford.

The king of Leinster, overjoyed at the news of their arrival, put himself at the head of 500 horse, and joined the invaders. In a council of war the first enterprise they resolved on was, the siege of Wexford, inhabited then by Danes;* in consequence of which their troops marched before the place, the inhabitants of which surrendered, made homage, and gave hostages with presents to the king of Leinster. He, to acquit his promise to Fitz-Stephen, gave him the town, with some adjoining territory, where he established his adventurers; to a paternal uncle of Fitz-Stephen, Hervey de Mountmorres, he gave an estate: by these and similar grants were those adventurers encouraged to the greatest enter-

* It is a vulgar mistake, that the Danes were all expelled Ireland in consequence of their defeat at Clontarf. None were expelled but those who invaded the country as allies of the king of Leinster. Such as dwelt in the seaport towns, as peaceable mechanics, merchants, or farmers, were not disturbed in their persons or properties, but allowed to live according to their own usages, on paying a moderate tribute to the prince of the territory. Accordingly, at the entrance of the English, all the seaport towns of Ireland were inhabited by Danes.

It is another mistake to suppose that the inhabitants and language of the barony of Forth are from England. The inhabitants and dialect of them and the Fingallians are from

prises. Meanwhile Maurice Prendergast arrived at Wexford with a reinforcement to the confederate army, which then amounted to 3000 men.

Dermod, animated by his first success, resolved to follow up his conquests, and with that view turned his arms against Donough Fitz Patrick, prince of Ossery, who became the first victim of his resentment. At the head of his victorious army, Dermod struck terror into Ossery, and forced this prince, after three days hard fighting, in a well chosen position, covered with an abbatis, to give hostages, and to pay an annual tribute to the crown of Leinster.

The fame of the progress made by the king of Leinster and his English allies having spread through the island, the princes and nobles addressed Roderic O'Connor, to concert the means of quelling this rebellion, so capable of creating confusion in the kingdom. It was ordained in the conference held for this purpose, that the provinces should furnish their contingent to the monarch, to enable him to suppress the revolt.

the Baltic; as the word Fingallian sufficiently proves. There were two descriptions of adventurers from the Baltic; those from the north side were called in Irish Finghal, and those from the south side Dubhghal. These fought a bloody battle at Clontarf for the possession of the country. The Finghalia having prevailed, retained possession of Dublin and the maritime district called Fingal, where the same dialect was spoken formerly as in the barony of Forth. The first English adventurers came over, not to turn farmers on the sea-coast, and remain there, but to fight their own and Dermod's battles, to satiate his vengeance, and gain estates for themselves.

The army of the monarch being reinforced by the allied troops, he marched to the county of Wexford. Dermot, unable to keep the field against an army so superior, took refuge in forests and inaccessible bogs near Ferns, where he held on the defensive.

If what some historians relate be true, that Roderic, at the head of his army, wanted to reason these greedy and needy adventurers, enriched by the donations of their patron, out of Ireland, instead of relying on the sword alone for their extirpation, it argues great weakness in the monarch of Ireland: it would be just as efficacious to argue the vulture or the wolf from their prey. The interposition of the clergy of Leinster with Roderic, in favour of peaceable measures, was much more effectual. The king, moved by their remonstrances, made a truce, and negociated with the confederates. A treaty of peace was concluded on the following conditions: first, Dermot should be put in possession of his kingdom of Leinster, with all the authority of his ancestors, and should be indemnified for the expences of the war: secondly, the king of Leinster should render homage to the monarch, and promise him fidelity: thirdly, that he would bind himself by oath not to send for any more English into his states; and that he would refuse to intruders his protection: fourthly, that Robert Fitz-Stephen should nevertheless remain in possession of Wexford. Dermot, for the ratification of this treaty, and to remove every suspicion of bad faith, gave his son Arthur hostage

to the monarch, who thereupon disbanded his army, and returned to Connaught.

It is not easy to find an instance of so shameful and dishonorable a treaty, between the monarch of a country and a revolted chief. It is such as might be dictated by a conqueror to a defeated prince, hopeless and resourceless. The rebellious prince was to be reinstated in the sovereignty he forfeited by his crimes, though he had been excommunicated by the clergy, and detested by the chieftains and clans as a tyrant. He was to be indemnified for the expences of the war; the confederates of his rebellion were to keep peaceable possession of the territories ravished from the lawful proprietors; and all this was submitted to without either fighting or losing a single battle, and that when the enemy, who dictated the treaty, is stated as hiding in bogs and morasses. Was Roderic influenced by the clergy, or by his fears? most probably by the former. However that be, they were miserably disappointed in their hopes of peace. The treaty was a stroke of perfidy and policy, to disentangle the confederates from an embarrassing situation, and to gain time for the arrival of succours from England.

The treaty was hardly concluded when Maurice Fitz-Gerald, step-brother to Fitz-Stephen, arrived at Wexford, with a considerable reinforcement of English, which greatly raised the spirits of the revoltors.

On the first news of the arrival of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Dermot hastened to Wexford,

where he held a council with Fitz-Stephen, Fitz-Maurice, Prendergast, Barry, Myler, Fitz-Gerald, and other English leaders, whose interest accorded with his ambition and vengeance. They filled him with the extravagant notion of aspiring to the monarchy of the island, promising troops from England sufficient for the enterprise. The king of Leinster, finding himself supported by the English, and a considerable part of his subjects, led by fear or attachment, marched towards Dublin, whose environs he laid waste, especially Fingal. His chief design was to avenge on the Danes the insults that he and his father had received from them; and to levy a contribution to defray the expences of the war. He commenced the siege of the capital with Maurice Fitz-Gerald, who commanded under him. Asculph, son of Torcall, commandant of the place, alarmed by the danger which menaced the town, assembled the principal inhabitants, to deliberate on the measures they should adopt. It was concluded, that a prompt submission was necessary to avert the storm. In consequence of this they sent deputies to the king of Leinster, with considerable sums in gold and silver; Asculph did him homage in the name of the city, and sent him hostages, as guarantees of their obedience. Robert Fitz-Stephen was not with this expedition, being busied in building and fortifying the fort of Carrick, near Waterford.

Such was the state of the king of Leinster's affairs when earl Richard Strongbow landed in this island.

This English adventurer, not forgetful of his promise of succour to the king, nor of his hope to become his son-in-law and successor to the throne, in hopes to be on good terms with his sovereign, Henry II. appeared at court, demanding his permission to quit the kingdom, and to seek his fortune elsewhere. Henry, being dissatisfied with him, granted his permission in an ironical manner, as to a man whose name he did not wish to hear mentioned. Richard, wishing to profit of this permission, however equivocal, made the necessary preparations for his expedition to Ireland; but previously detached Raymond le Gros, with a small body of men, to reconnoitre the country, facilitate his intended descent, and announce his intentions to the king of Leinster.

Raymond disembarked on the first of May, 1170, at the little port of Don Dombnall, within four miles of Waterford, where he threw up entrenchments, to prevent a surprise. The Danes of Waterford, hearing of a body of English troops being encamped in their neighbourhood, assembled, with the clan of O'Faolan, king of the Desies (Co. Waterford), to the number of two or three thousand, but without discipline, and ill provided with arms. Raymond, without waiting for the enemy in his trenches, sallied out to meet them on the plain. The battle began with vigour, and the English were driven back to their entrenchments, where being enabled by the courage of despair, they rallied, and made head against their disorderly assailants, of whom

they made a great carnage. This victory of the English, though inferior in number, was owing to their discipline, and to a number of archers, who took sure aim from their ramparts, on a people unaccustomed to such a weapon of warfare. The victory was disgraced by the massacre of seventy prisoners, consisting of the chief citizens of Waterford. At a council of war, held to deliberate on their treatment, Raymond was for observing the customary laws of civilized warfare, but Hervey de Mountmorres harangued the soldiers, and prevailed on them to murder the prisoners. This they brutally performed by first breaking their legs, and then casting them from a precipice into the sea.

This was civilizing the Irish, both Danes and Milesians, on the plan of an Anglo-Irish writer, who said, that the only way to civilize the Irish was, to kill them and take their properties. It was conformable to the maxim of Gerald Barry, commonly called Gyraldus Cambrensis, a catholic priest, tutor to king John, and a relation of the Geraldines, some of the chief invaders, who laid it down as an invariable rule for the conduct of the adventurers, to debilitate and exterminate the ancient catholic proprietors of Ireland. A sanguinary maxim, more becoming the preacher of the Alcoran than a minister of the gospel, which was but too fatally adhered to. Slaughter, confiscation, colonization, formed the fatal circle of English policy towards the native Irish. Division, famine, fictitious plots, assassinations of distinguished men, were among the means of

accomplishing the destruction and degradation which they call civilization. The suppression of schools and colleges, the extinction of learning and language, and the destruction of books, formed their methods of refining and improving a nation!

Strongbow landed at Waterford, on the 24th of August, with 1200 choice troops, where he was speedily joined by the king of Leinster, with his Irish and English forces. They held a council of war, in which it was resolved to lay siege to Waterford. This they considered as an easy conquest. That ill-fortified place was defended by the burghers who had escaped from the late defeat, and was attacked by an army superior in number, well disciplined, and commanded by able officers; yet it was defended with obstinate valour by the inhabitants. At length, taken by assault, the besiegers rushed in, making an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants, until the arrival of Dermot, whose interposition saved the lives of many of his countrymen. A terrible specimen of the cruelty of those adventurers, proving that Suwarrow was not the first butcher of men who civilized mankind by destruction.

Soon after the king of Leinster fulfilled his engagements with earl Richard; and betrothing to him his daughter Eve, declared them heirs of his crown.

Their next enterprise was against the Danes of Dublin, whom the treaty concluded the year before, the hostages, the homage, the tribute yielded, could not protect from the further ag-

gressions of those lawless treaty-breaking plunderers. They accordingly attacked it with all their forces. Asculph, the governor, unable to maintain a siege, charged St. Laurence O'Tool, the archbishop, to negotiate a fresh peace with the king of Leinster. On the 21st of September, while this holy prelate was treating with the king in his camp, Raymond, Maurice Fitz-Gerald, and Miles Cogan, with their followers, entered through a breach into the town, making an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants, without sparing age or sex.* Thus the laws of nations, the laws of war, the laws of humanity, were trampled under foot, and men, women and children barbarously butchered, while they were treating for capitulation!

Dermod, leaving a garrison in the city, of which he trusted the command to Miles Cogan, turned his arms against O'Rourk, chieftain of Brefney, with whose wife he had eloped; by whom he was twice defeated, and with difficulty escaped.

Meanwhile no effort was made by the monarch of Ireland, or its divided princes, to stem the torrent of carnage and plunder, while it remained at a distance, until it approached their own frontiers; then Roderick had recourse to expostulations, reviling the king of Leinster for his breach of treaty, threatening to execute the hostages, given as a security of good faith, among whom was his own son Arthur. But the arguments of religion and morality were thrown away on a

* Stanburst, de Reb. in Hib. Gest. Lib. III. p. 103.

banditti spreading devastation with arms in their hands. Dermot's reply was laconic. Threatened to revenge the death of the hostages on O'Connor and his whole race. The winter following the king of Leinster took up his quarters at Fearn, where he died in the month of May, 1171. He was a man of extraordinary stature, strong, valiant, and warlike: his nation he sacrificed to his vengeance: his principle was rather to inspire terror than to win the affections of his people, for whose interest he lived too long: his memory was long held in execration by his countrymen.

After his death earl Richard, pretender to the crown, became the real heir of his tyranny. He led his troops into Munster, where they committed great devastation; but he was arrested in his career by Roderic O'Connor, who gained some advantages over him.

Henry II. then in Aquitain, hearing of the progress made by Strongbow and his other subjects in Ireland, entertained violent suspicions that the earl was endeavouring to conquer a kingdom for himself, which he was long desirous of uniting to his other dominions. To defeat the supposed ambition of this subject, in whom he never had any confidence, he prohibited by edict all intercourse with Ireland, and forbade men, arms or provisions to be conveyed thither. By the same edict he commanded his subjects actually in Ireland to come to England, on an appointed day, under pain of being considered as traitors and rebels.

Earl Richard was disconcerted by this edict, which interrupted all his projects. Though master of Dublin, Wexford and Waterford, he was not in a condition to preserve them without succours from England, which could not be obtained without an accommodation with the king. For this purpose he held a council with the English chiefs, when it was resolved to send Raymond le Gros to represent to his majesty, that it was with his permission the English assisted the king of Leinster; but that they still considered themselves as his subjects, and did nothing but for his interest. Raymond having acquitted himself of his commission, Henry II. returned to England, from whence he sent Raymond with orders for the speedy return of Strongbow to England, to give an account of his conduct.

About this time Asculph, chief of the Danes of Dublin, who had escaped at the last siege of that city, returned with sixty ships and troops, collected from the Hebrides, Orkneys, &c. to besiege it. He encamped at the eastern gate of the town, and made such vigorous attacks, that the English, conscious of their inability to resist the superior force of the Danes, had recourse to stratagem. Miles Cogan, the governor, sent his brother, Richard Cogan, with a squadron of cavalry, through the southern gate, with orders to attack the besiegers in the rear. This stratagem had complete success. The Danes disheartened, thinking it was the advanced guard of a reinforcement coming to relieve the town, took to flight. The carnage was great. Asculph,

the chief, was brought prisoner to Dublin—we need not add that he was murdered—however they did not torture him, they only cut off his head.

This unsuccessful attempt of Asculph was followed by a greater effort of O'Connor, the monarch, without much better success. St. Laurence O'Tool, animated with zeal for his country, for the purity of morality and religion, of which in the spirit of prophecy he foresaw the ruin, moved heaven and earth to avert the impending calamity. By his eloquence and his authority he suspended for a while the hereditary feuds of the Irish chieftains, and succeeded in forming a confederacy for the expulsion of those barbarous invaders. To render their destruction inevitable, he negotiated with the Danes of the isle of Man, the Hebrides, and the Orkneys, to blockade the harbour of Dublin, while the confederates invested the town by land. These measures were wise, and seemed to promise success. The blockade lasted two months, and the besieged felt already the approach of famine. At the same time Domhnall, son of Dermot, very unlike his father, assembled some troops, and besieged Fitz-Stephen in a fort at Carrick, near Wexford. Fitz-Stephen found means to let the garrison of Dublin understand, that if he was not succoured in two or three days he must inevitably fall into the hands of his enemies. This news, coming upon them in their great distress, left no resource but the courage of despair, and that succeeded. The

besiegers, confident of reducing the town by famine, and despising the weakness of the garrison, indulged in all the negligence of an assured victory. Individually as brave and skilful in arms as any nation upon earth—in the aggregate they were but a host without discipline or subordination. Every commander of a clan was, by the constitution, the general of that clan, independent of the monarch, who could neither promote or dismiss him: invested with the power of making peace or war, without consulting the monarch, his obedience to orders was rather a matter of complaisance than of necessity. If the monarch was a hero, a veneration for talents, natural to the Irish, made his orders respected; but, if an ordinary man, he was liable to all the evils of insubordination, of which O'Connor felt the consequences. No entrenchments, no outposts, patrols, and those other precautionary measures, that always attend a regular army, the besieged saw they might be taken by surprise. Accordingly they made a sally at the break of day, fell upon O'Connor's quarters, while they were as yet asleep, dispatched a great many of them, and the rest fled.

This victory enabled the garrison of Dublin to send succours to Fitz-Stephen, besieged in the fort of Carrick. But the detachment, led to their relief by Strongbow, being harassed by the O'Ryan's, in the defiles of Idrone (Co. Carlow), arrived too late: a part of the garrison fell in the conflict, and the rest, among whom was Fitz-Stephen, were made prisoners of war, and

confined in the island of Beg-Erin, in the county of Wexford. It seems that the Irish had not as yet learned, from those English adventurers, to butcher their prisoners.

One of those writers, which are peculiar to this country, has given a tale of Irish perfidy in this transaction. He tells us, that Fitz-Stephen was led to capitulate by perfidy and fraud! But memory failed. He forgot that, in three pages before he narrates this libellous fable, he had stated, that “intelligence was brought by the faithful Donald Kavanagh, (to the English in Dublin,) that the gallant Fitz-Stephen was besieged in the fortress of Carrick, by the men of Wexford, and MUST, UNLESS RELIEVED BEFORE THE END OF THREE DAYS, fall into the hands of a revengeful and cruel foe.” Here we see that famine, and not perjury or fraud, compelled Fitz-Stephen to surrender. And that the prisoners did not experience the treatment of a cruel and perfidious foe, is also manifest. Had the men of Wexford been tutored by the massacres of Dublin, Waterford, and Wexford, and the constant murder of their prisoners by those barbarous invaders, Fitz-Stephen would not have lived to be presented to his sovereign by his captors, then requiring his punishment for the enormities he had committed.

Strongbow, pressed by the orders of his master, embarked for England, leaving the colony in an unpromising situation. He was presented to the king, at Newcham, near Gloucester, then preparing an army for his expedition to Ireland,

Henry reproached him bitterly for the robberies and massacres committed in Ireland; and that, not satisfied with the honorable lot granted him by the king of Leinster, he behaved as a cruel tyrant, and usurper of the lands of others. This was the language of truth, and would appear also to be that of an honest man, if we did not know that Henry was as great a tyrant and usurper as the man whom he reproached. After this stern reprimand, the king's indignation at the enormity of his adventurers was appeased by submission, a promise of amendment, and of putting into the king's hands Dublin, and all the other places wrested from the Irish.

Meanwhile O'Rourk, prince of Breifne, made an effort against the English garrison of Dublin. He enticed them outside of the fortifications, where a bloody battle took place between the two parties, without further effect than the effusion of blood. The son of O'Rourk, "a youth," says Stanihurst, "illustrious in the arts of war and peace," after signalling his valour in the midst of the enemy, was, with several of his followers, mortally wounded; but they dearly sold their lives to their adversaries, of whom a great number lay on the field of battle.

Having completed all his preparations for the expedition to Ireland, Henry, aged 41, in the seventeenth year of his reign, embarked at Milford, in October 1172, with a formidable and well appointed army, and arrived at Waterford on the festival of St. Luke, where he established his head quarters. His English subjects, from

Dublin, Waterford, Wexford, and their other possessions, hastened to pay him homage, and renew their oath of allegiance. Their example was soon followed by some of the native princes, who basely submitted instead of uniting in defence of their country's independence. Mac Carty More, king of Desmond (south Munster), was the first of these deserters. He presented himself to the king of England at Waterford, and paid him homage. Henry, after consulting with his English subjects on the means of reducing the island, assembled his forces, and marched to Lismore; whence, after a repose of two days, he advanced towards Cashel. He was met on the road, near the river Suir, by Donald O'Brien, king of Thomond (north Munster), who submitted to him. The example of these two leading princes of the south was followed by the other chieftains of Munster. Henry thereupon dispatched garrisons to Limerick and Cork, to take possession of these two cities surrendered to him. Thence he returned to Waterford, where he received the homage of Fitz-Patrick, prince of Ossery, and of O'Faolan, prince of the Desies. He treated all those princes with distinguished honor, made them magnificent presents, and guaranteed the possession of their properties and dignities.* He also imprisoned Fitz-Stephen for the tyrannies and robberies exercised by him on the natives; but restored him to liberty on surrendering the town and territory of Wexford,

* Stan. de Reb. in Hib. Gest. Lib. I. p. 125.

which he had obtained as a present from the plunderer Dermot.

Henry, appointing Robert Bernard governor of Waterford, marched to Dublin, where his feudal sovereignty was acknowledged by several princes of Leinster. He loaded all these princes with presents, and strove to win them by caresses, in order to blind them to the chains he was preparing for them: he promised to maintain them in their properties and dignities, though he had no intention of keeping his word.

O'Connor, seeing the general desertion of the chieftains, was necessitated to yield to the times. Henry sent him two ambassadors, Lacy and Fitz-Aldelm, to negotiate for an interview. In consequence the two princes met on the banks of the Shannon, without coming to any conclusion. O'Connor had his forces covered with bogs and woods, where Henry did not think it proper to attack him. But there was a treaty concluded between them at Windsor some time afterwards.

Having thus settled the affairs of the infant colony, and obtained from most of the native princes a sort of a feudal homage, which did not compromise their dignities, nor interfere with their authorities, laws or revenues, he returned to England at Easter, 1173, whence he shortly went to Normandy, where his son Henry, whom he had entrusted with the government of his French dominions, had revolted against him. Eleanor, his wife, resenting his numerous conjugal infidelities, excited her son Henry to claim the crown. The prince, aided in his rebellion

by his brothers Richard and Geoffry, was also supported by his father-in-law, Louis VII. and Philip Augustus, his successor. The consequence of this revolt was the invasion of several parts of his territories by neighbouring princes, and his own subjects. Verneuil, in Normandy, was taken in the time of Louis VII., and the city of Mans, his birth-place, was taken under Philip Augustus. His chagrin at losing the latter place caused him to blasphemously exclaim, "I wont love God any more, since he suffered my dear city to be ravished from me!"

Henry was too busy in his continental affairs to give personal attention to Ireland. As an able politician, he thought it prudent to interest the English subjects he had left there to support his pretensions. With a liberality only equalled by that of his countryman, Adrian IV., he bestowed the territories of the princes, who had acknowledged his feudal domination, in defiance of his solemn promises to maintain them in their property and dignity, and of the treaties which he had concluded with them. Notwithstanding his jealousy of Strongbow, he confirmed to him the donation of the kingdom of Leinster, made to him without any just title by his father-in-law Dermot, except the seaport towns and some forts that he reserved for himself. This donation of a property not his own was confirmed by a charter, granted by king John to William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, son-in-law of Strongbow; a copy of which is preserved in the Tower of London.

Strongbow, imitating the predatory liberality of his sovereign, distributed the greater part of Leinster, on military tenure, among his followers. But the grantees did not always obtain peaceable possession of the illegal donations. Marching to take possession of O'Dempsey's country, in Offaly (King's county), where he plundered and burned several villages, Strongbow had the mortification to lose his son-in-law and general, Quincy, who was slain in a defile where O'Dempsey attacked.

Unfounded as were the pretensions of Henry to the province of Leinster, he extended his liberality to countries no ways connected with that kingdom. He granted by a charter dated at Wexford, which was confirmed by king John, the large territory of Meath, east and west, to Hugh de Lacy, on condition of military service.

Hugh entered Meath to take possession, where not satisfied with dispossessing, he massacred a great number of the ancient proprietors; thence he made an inroad into Annaly (Longford), where he committed great depredations, and slew Donald O'Farrel, the chieftain, in a conflict.

O'Melaghlin, hereditary chieftain of Meath, afflicted at the outrages committed on his people, waited on Lacy, to make his complaints of this unprovoked aggression, who promised him an interview at Tara to explain matters. There the prince of Meath spoke much of the injustice of England's king, who, in spite of his solemn promises and treaties, by which he guaranteed

to him, and the other Irish princes, their properties and dignities, had sent a lawless banditti to plunder and destroy his people. The unfortunate prince of Meath paid the forfeit of his foolish confidence in the faith and honor of the invaders. He was assassinated at the conference, beheaded, his body was buried with the feet up, his head sent to Dublin, and thence to England. Stanihurst relates this calamity as having befallen O'Rourk, who he falsely imagined to be the prince of Meath. With all the venom of an English partizan he endeavours to gloss the perfidy and barbarity of Lacy; yet he acknowledges that there was a strong body of English troops placed in ambuscade, at a small distance from the place of interview, which must be to make certain the intended assassination. The assassin, in imitation of his master Henry, and of Strongbow, distributed the territory of the murdered chieftain among a number of vassals, on military tenure.

Henry, pressed by his enemies in Normandy, sent orders to Strongbow to come to him speedily, with what forces he could collect. The earl, in obedience to his orders, passed over with some picked men, where he remained some time, as commandant of Gisors, as Regan says. The king considering the English colony as yet too weak, sent Strongbow back, in quality of governor, as soon as he could spare him, who was received in Dublin with great acclamations.

Meantime the plundered Irish, seeing no termination to the cruelty and rapacity of those

adventurers, had recourse to arms in their own defence, and compelled the marauders to seek security in their fortresses. But after receiving reinforcements from England and Normandy, they sallied out into the country called Desies, laying the whole country waste. The booty was so considerable, that they were obliged to send a part of it by sea to Waterford, under the command of Adam de Hereford. The Danes of Cork, with a view to intercept the convoy, equipped a fleet of thirty-five ships, which was defeated by the valour of Philip Walsh, who, leaping sword in hand on board the admiral's vessel, killed him, which occasioned the retreat of the Danes, and allowed the English a safe passage with their prey. Raymond conveyed the rest of the booty, consisting principally of cattle, by land, but not without some opposition from Dermot, king of Desmond.

Among the calamities which visited Ireland since the English invasion, may be reckoned a plague, which ravaged the provinces of Munster and Connaught at this period.

In 1174, encouraged by their successful plunder of East Munster, the adventurers resolved to try their fortune westward, and marched with all the troops they could collect towards Cashel; but, contrary to their expectation, they met Roderic O'Connor at Thurles, where they experienced a defeat, leaving 1700 on the field of battle.*

* Cambrens. Evers. c. ix. p. 89.—Annal. c. vi. Hen. II

After this Roderic marched to Meath, whence he expelled the English, who, unable to stand the field, retreated to Dublin, after demolishing the fortifications of Trim and Duleek. Roderic was assisted in this expedition by O'Neill, king of Ulster. A junction probably effected more by family interest than patriotism: the murdered chieftain of Meath being of the Hy-Nial race, who were long in possession of that country.

The battle of Thurles, and the loss of Meath, alarmed Strongbow. Seeing the perilous situation of the adventurers, he sent an account of his sad situation to Raymond le Gros, who the preceding year had retired in disgust, requesting his return and aid, promising him his sister in marriage. Raymond immediately accepted the terms, and collected 330 horse and foot, with which he landed at Waterford, and assisted Strongbow to escape out of the town, of which the Danes had made themselves masters. A part of the garrison, however, defended Rinald's tower so obstinately, that the Danes, despairing of its capture, evacuated the town. By this time the allies of Roderic, thinking the campaign finished by the recapture of Meath, returned home, as usual with an Irish host, which served without pay, and therefore were without subordination. The adventurers, availing themselves of this circumstance, repossessed themselves of a great part of the country they had lost.

That Irish literature, though greatly depressed by the Danish wars, and disturbed by the English invaders, was not as yet entirely extinct, we have

proofs in a number of learned men mentioned by our annalists; such as Gelasius, archbishop of Armagh; Flamin O'Gorman, professor in the university of Armagh; Gilbert, bishop of Limerick; Celsus, archbishop of Armagh; Malachy O'Morgair, archbishop of Armagh, a correspondent of St. Bernard, author of a collection of ecclesiastical constitutions, treatises on celibacy, traditions, the life of St. Cuthbert, a prophecy concerning the Popes is also attributed to him; Maurice Regan, secretary and interpreter to Dermot Mac Morrough, the last king of Leinster, who carefully narrated the history of Irish affairs during his own time, which was translated into French, and thence into English, by Sir George Carew, president of Munster in the reign of queen Elizabeth; without mentioning O'Heney, archbishop of Cashel, and many others.

Further to secure his acquisitions in Ireland, in 1175, Henry II. obtained the following bull, from Pope Alexander III. confirmatory of that of his predecessor, Pope Adrian IV. "Alexander, the bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to his dearly beloved son, the noble king of England, greeting, grace and apostolic benediction. Forasmuch as things given and granted upon good reason by our predecessors, are to be well allowed of, ratified and confirmed, we well considering and pondering the grant and privilege for and concerning the dominion of the land of Ireland to us appertaining, and lately given by Adrian, our predecessor, we, following his

steps, do in like manner confirm, allow, and ratify the same; reserving and saving to St. Peter, and to the church of Rome, the yearly pension of one penny out of every house, as well in England as in Ireland. Provided also, that the barbarous people of Ireland, by your means, be reformed and recovered from their filthy life, and abominable conversation. That as in name, so in life and manners they may be Christians; and that as that rude and disordered church, being by you reformed, the whole nation may also with the possession of the name be in acts and deeds followers of the same." This was brought to Ireland by Nicholas, prior of Wallingsford, and William Fitz Aldelm, who delivered it to an assembly of Irish bishops at Waterford, by whom it was approved, according to English writers.

Invited by family dissensions among the O'Briens, Raymond undertook an expedition to Limerick, in conjunction with the prince of Ossery, a sworn foe of the king of Thomond. After some skirmishes, the city being then open and defenceless, it was taken and pillaged, then garrisoned and retained.

O'Connor, afflicted at the calamities which were inflicted by those merciless marauders on his country, thought that the only means of setting some bounds to these excesses was, to capitulate national independence for the protection of the king of England by a solemn treaty. For that purpose he dispatched ambassadors, viz. O'Duffy, archbishop of Tuam, Concord, abbot of St. Brandon, at Clonfert, and Laurence,

chancellor of Connaught, who were received by Henry, on the 8th of October, 1176, at a parliament held at Windsor. The king of England, flattered by this embassy, concluded the following treaty with Roderic, in quality of tributary king, which title was transmitted to some of his successors. His son is named king of Connaught in a roll in the Tower of London, dated the sixth year of king John. Henry III. in the fifth year of his reign, addressed letters patent to the kings of Connaught and Cinel Eoin (Tyrone); he also gave a charter to O'Brien of the land of Thomond, with the title of king; but there is no charter extant of Ulster, whose king had not as yet submitted.

“ This is the object and concord, concluded at Windsor, between our lord Henry II. king of England, and Roderic, king of Connaught, through Catholicus, archbishop of Tuam, Concord, abbot of St. Brandon, and Master Laurence, chancellor of the kingdom of Connaught.

“ First. The king of England concedes to the said Roderic, his liege man, the kingdom of Connaught, as long as he shall faithfully serve him; and that he shall be a king under him, ready for his service, as a trusty man; and that he shall hold his territories, as well, and in peace, as he held them before the king of England entered Ireland, paying him tribute; and that he shall have that whole land, and its inhabitants, under him; and that through him they shall pay tribute to the king of England, and thro' his hands they shall preserve their rights

and privileges; and those who are now in possession shall keep their possessions in peace, as long as they remain loyal to the king of England, and faithfully pay the tribute and other duties which they owe, through the hands of the king of Connaught: his and the king of England's honor also to be safe.

“ Secondly. If any rebel against him and the king of England, and will not pay the tribute and duties to the king of England through his hands, and shall depart from their loyalty to the king of England, he shall do justice on them, and remove them: and if he cannot by himself enforce justice, the constable of the king of England and his people shall help him in the execution thereof, on a requisition being made to that effect, and the necessity of such aid manifested. And for this purpose let the foresaid king of Connaught pay yearly tribute to the king of England, namely, of every ten animals one saleable skin, as well from his own lands as of the lands of others.

“ Thirdly. Except those lands which the king of England held under his own dominion, and the dominion of his barons; except Dublin, with all its appurtenances; except also Wexford, with all its appurtenances, that is, with Leinster. (Wicklow, Wexford and Carlow); except also Waterford to Dungarvan, so that Dungarvan be included in that land, with all its appurtenances.

“ Fourthly. And if fugitive Irish shall be willing to return to the lands of the English

barons, let them return in peace, paying the aforesaid tribute which others pay, or performing the same labour which others use to do for their lands; and let this be in the arbitration of their lords. And if any shall be unwilling to return, their lords and the king of Connaught shall receive hostages for all those whom the king of England had committed to him, agreeable to the will of our lord the king and his own, these or others; and the same shall serve the king with dogs and birds every year, from their appurtenances. And they shall retain no man whatsoever from the king's lands, contrary to the will of our lord the king. Witness these present, Richard, bishop of Winchester, Jeoffry, bishop of Ely, Laurence, bishop of Dublin, Jeoffry, Nicholas, and Roger, the king's chaplains, and many others."

This humiliating treaty, between the feeble expiring monarchy of Ireland and its oppressors, refutes the vanity of Irish patriots endeavouring to maintain that Ireland was never conquered by the English. The terms of the treaty were such as could be dictated only by a victorious foe to a defeated and a desponding enemy. Could any thing but defeat and despair induce the monarch of Ireland to become tributary to Henry? and not only tributary, but to become his collector of taxes; and to bind himself to call for the assistance of the English to compel his countrymen to pay the tribute? Roderic himself contributed his share to bring Ireland to this disgraceful situation. Imitating the ruinous ambi-

tion of Brien Boiroidne, without possessing his talents, he became a patron of feudal anarchy, in the conspiracy formed against the house of O'Neil, whose long prescriptive rule, sanctioned by popular veneration, was the only remaining prop of a declining monarchy, unsupported by revenue or standing forces.

The colonial writers, agreeably to their national partiality, dwell on the alliances and deaths of the chiefs of the invaders. The proper object for a national historian is to remark those events which illustrate the causes of Ireland's downfall. How a nation, generous and brave, individually the best soldiers on earth, superior to their enemies, by their own confession, in strength, agility, and skill at arms, fell, by anarchy and division, a prey to merciless marauders.

Donald O'Brien, about this time, made an effort to recover Limerick. The town was destitute of provisions, and would be soon compelled to surrender, if not speedily relieved. Murchadh, king of Leinster, and Donald, chieftain of Ossery, united their forces with those of Raymond, which advanced to its relief. The king of Thomond, hearing of their approach, raised the siege, and came to meet them as far as Cashel, where he fell into an ambuscade: his army, surrounded by superior numbers, was routed, after a vigorous resistance; and Donald O'Brien, king of Thomond was obliged to submit to the terms of Raymond. How could a nation stand, so forward to fight not only against each other, but for their enemy? It was not only clan against

clan, or province against province, but civil dissensions in the same family desolated the island.

Dermot Mac Carty, king of Desmond, was compelled, by the revolt of his son Cormac, to implore the succour of Raymond, who marched to his assistance, and subdued the revolters. Mac Carty, in recompence for this assistance, bestowed on Raymond a considerable territory in Kerry, of which his son Maurice took possession; who, espousing Catherine, the daughter of Miles Cogan, left a posterity in possession of Mac Carty's grant, known by the name of Clannmorres.

In the beginning of June, 1176, died, at Dublin, the chief of the English colony, Strongbow, after tyrannizing over Leinster seven years. His disease seemed emblematic of the country he invaded. A mortification in the foot extended to the vital parts, and caused his dissolution: 'twas thus a mortification of the fundamental principles of the constitution caused its extinction. His corpse was interred by St. Laurence O'Tool, in Christ-church, Dublin. He left no male issue, neither did his son-in-law, William Marshall; so that his immense and illegal acquisitions of territory fell, by intermarriages, into different families. To use the language of an English author, *Nubrigensis*, the whole plunder of Ireland, for which he laboured so much, he left to strangers, who felt no gratitude for his perils and turmoils, nor solicitude for the risk of his salvation in the acquisition. A salutary lesson for posterity!

A whimsical contradiction in the conduct of leading men in those days, has disconcerted not a little the writers on Irish affairs. They were at a loss to reconcile the cruelty and the piety, the robberies and religious donations, practised by the invaders. Churches and monasteries plundered, and the clergy slaughtered, in one place; and the foundation and endowment of religious houses in other places. They did not perceive that English policy was the latent motive that explains the contradiction. Religious establishments, possessed by Irish natives, were invaded as the property of an enemy; and sometimes a part of the plunder was appropriated to the establishment of religious houses for English subjects exclusively, as useful allies for the reduction of Ireland. Thus the knights templars were established by Strongbow at Kilmainham, 1174, to which eight other commanderies were annexed afterwards.

On receiving the intelligence of the death of Strongbow, Raymond hastened from Limerick to Dublin, to superintend the affairs of the colony, and preserve their territorial acquisitions, leaving the care of Limerick to O'Brien, king of Thomond, who thereupon set fire to it. As this trust was a matter of necessity, and not of choice, the act of a natural enemy, bound by no treaty, O'Brien might easily conceive that he only did his duty in destroying a place which was held to his injury.

Henry, always jealous of the progress of the principal invaders, had sent commissioners to

Ireland, to order the appearance of Raymond at court. These commissioners, from an ocular inspection of the affairs of the colony, judging that his absence would endanger its existence, ventured to suspend the king's orders, and leave him provisional governor. Notwithstanding the statement of his commissioners, Henry sent, as viceroy, William Fitz-Aldelm, and gave him as assistants John de Courcy, and Miles Cogan, who had signalized themselves in the wars of France and England.

Stanihurst makes an observation on Fitz-Aldelm, which is applicable to the generality of mankind, that he was not altogether wise, nor altogether foolish. It was not wise policy to disclose his enmity to the Fitzgeralds, who by alliances and property were the most powerful family of the pale.

After the death of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, he seized on his castle of Wicklow; and to colour this injustice he gave to his three sons the town of Fearn. To secure the possession of this place they built a castle, which was soon after razed, by order of Walter, nephew of Fitz-Aldelm, and governor of Wexford.

About this time (1177), Henry II. availed himself of the spiritual powers of Rome; and, in consequence of his alliance with the Holy See, for the reduction and the pretended reformation of Ireland, obtained the assistance of a pope's legate, to visit Ireland, and conjure it to obedience. Cardinal Vivian, on his arrival in England, was obliged by Henry II. to swear

that he would employ all his authority to support his interest. To fulfil his engagements with Henry, which were probably sanctioned by temporal interest, as well as by his oath, shortly after his arrival in Ireland, he called a meeting of bishops and abbots in Dublin, whom he endeavoured to convince, in an eloquent harangue, of Henry's title to the crown of Ireland, commanding the Irish to obey him under pain of excommunication.

Meanwhile the policy of England was building castles and monasteries for the very same object, influence and defence. During the stay of the legate at Dublin, Fitz-Aldelm, the viceroy, founded a monastery of English canons regular, called Thomas-court. They were endowed with the territory of Donore, Co. Meath, on condition of praying for the souls of Geoffry, earl of Anjou, and the empress Matilda. The charter did not enjoin these monks to pray for the souls of the proprietors of that territory.

The denunciations of the legate, however, did not prevent Melaghlin Mac Loghlin, ancient proprietor of Meath, attacking the castle of Slane, which he carried by assault, and demolished; and in which Richard Fleming, who held forcible possession thereof, with many of his followers, was slain.

This disaster did not discourage other adventurers from daring enterprizes. The cruel and valiant De Courcy tried his fortune in Ulster, whither the English had not as yet penetrated. With 400 men, in 1177, he arrived at Down.

the chief city of a territory then called Ullagh, and now the county of Down. The inhabitants, apprehending no danger, were taken by surprise; they were astonished and alarmed at the outrages committed by these barbarians, no house or chest could escape the avidity of the plunderers; as Stanihurst says, *quibus spoliis miseras ac diuturnas egestates explent*. It could not be expected that the authority of the Pope's legate could reconcile these miserable sufferers with this strange mode of civilization.

Roderick, son of Dunlevy, chieftain of the country, raised an undisciplined multitude to oppose the plunderers, but was defeated. The account that Stanihurst gives us of this battle savours much of national partiality. It is not probable that 400 Englishmen defeated 10,000 Irish, for several reasons. First, it is not probable, that a petty chieftain could bring so many men into the field; because we find that provincial kings were not able to muster so numerous an army. O'Neil, king of Ulster, could only muster 3000 men against Roderic O'Connor, at the head of the confederated forces. Arthur Cavanagh could only bring 3000 men into the field against Richard II., at the head of the greatest English army that ever landed in Ireland. Where then could a petty toparch find ten thousand? Secondly, it contradicts the character, drawn by himself, of the men of Ulster. "The men of Ulster," says he, "are by nature and practice very warlike; always inured to arms, their battle with the Britons is conducted

with boldness and regularity, without any deficiency of martial valour, but God, the giver of victory, decided the battle in favour of the English." Though the authority of Cardinal Vivian, the Pope's ambassador, could not restrain the carnage and plunder of his allies, he obtained the liberty of Malachy, bishop of Down.

Courcy continued his career of devastation in Ulster. Superstition and barbarity were blended in his character. He had a copy of Merlin's Prophecies always about him; and thinking himself designated therein as the conqueror of Ulster, he had it in his pocket by day, and under his pillow by night.

It seems Merlin did not warn him of his fortune; as in the year following, 1178, he marched towards Oriel (Louth), where he was vigorously attacked in his camp of Gliury, by Mortough O'Carrol, chieftain of the country. The action was severe, and De Courcy's forces were entirely routed in their trenches. O'Carrol knew how to conquer, and to avail himself of his conquest; he pursued the plunderers to the extremity of the county of Down, where in a second engagement he cut them to pieces, De Courcy himself, and about a dozen of his gang, with difficulty escaped to the castle of Down.

Courcy, perhaps instructed by those severe lessons, had recourse to more efficacious means than the prophecies of Merlin. He built castles, and by the plunder of Irish monasteries founded monasteries of English monks, who answered all

the purposes of an English garrison. As an instance of this policy, common to the English invaders, he destroyed the abbey of Carrick, founded near the bridge of Fane, and applied its revenues for the foundation of a monastery of Cistercian monks, brought from the abbey of Furnes, in England. One of these monks, by name Jocelyn, wrote a life of St. Patrick; a monument, which decisively proves, that philosophy was at a low ebb in England, where he received his education.

In 1183, Courcy dispossessed the canons of the cathedral church of Down, and brought over Benedictine monks from the abbey of St. Werburgh, of Chester; and gave them as prior William Etleshall, a monk of their order. Another of those spiritual garrisons he established at Tubberglory, and another at Nedrum, in which he placed English monks from Cumberland. The churches of Inis-Catha (Inis-Scattery), an island at the mouth of the Shannon, were appropriated, by Hervey de Mountmorres, to the foundation of a monastery for English monks, at Dunbrodec, near the confluence of the Suir and Barrow, county of Wexford.

While the English adventurers were pursuing these judicious plans for the reduction of the island, Henry II. was meditating to secure their acquisitions to his family, by appointing his son John, king of Ireland. He did not neglect any precaution of policy to bring his projects to effect. He obtained the assistance of the court of Rome, and appointed John Comyn, archbishop

of Dublin, to prepare men's minds for the reception of the young prince. After being knighted at Windsor, by the king, his father, at the age of twelve, John set off for Milford, in the April of 1175, where a fleet awaited to conduct him to Ireland. He embarked at Easter, accompanied by Ralph Glanville, justiciary of England, and Giraldus Cambrensis, his tutor. He was accompanied by four hundred knights, and some young debauched courtiers, who possessed his entire confidence. As soon as he landed at Waterford, the Irish lords in its vicinity came immediately to compliment him on his arrival. The manners and customs of the two nations were very different. The Irish were naturally hospitable, free, and polite to strangers; the English the very reverse. Receiving the Irish lords with a sulky disdain, they fired the pride of the chieftains, who retired, breathing vengeance for the insults of the royal boy and his debauched companions. War resounded from all quarters; and the chieftains for a while suspended their private hostilities, to avenge what they considered a national affront. But these tumultuary hostilities produced no other effect, than that of interrupting the pleasures in which John revelled, determining him to abandon so dangerous a dignity, and return to England, after having built three castles, during his stay, for the protection of the colony. His tutor, Gerald Barry, vulgarly called Giraldus Cambrensis, remained behind, to collect the fables which he called the history of Ireland. The policy of England constantly joined

the pen of the libeller to the sword of the warrior; to destroy the character as well as the persons of the natives, and confound in one ruin their fame and their inheritance.

The king of England, instructed by John's mal-administration in Ireland, thought it expedient to entrust the government in the hands of military men. Accordingly John de Courcy, an able officer, practised in the Irish mode of warfare, was appointed viceroy. He undertook some expeditions to Cork and Connaught, with various success.

During the progress of the invaders it cannot be supposed, that the natives, however divided by domestic quarrels, could remain idle spectators of their own ruin. Here and there some valiant efforts were made by the invaded clans, which, for want of union, discipline, and a national government, terminated in a fruitless effusion of blood. Four English officers, with a detachment of the garrison of Ardfinnan, were put to the sword, by Donald O'Brien, king of Thomond. Another detachment from the same garrison, surprised marauding near Limerick, met the same fate. Surprises and ambushes are allowed by the law of nations: it is not easy to justify assassination upon any principle. Arthur O'Melaghlin, chief of Meath, was killed by the English, three English lords were also killed; and to complete the picture of the times, while assassination, carnage and robbery were triumphant, monasteries were founded.

About this time an abbey of Bernardines was

founded at Leix, near the river Nuir. The bodies of St. Patrick, St. Columb, and St. Bridget were translated at Down, by the Pope's legate; and the Staff of Jesus was carried in triumph from the cathedral of Armagh to Christ-church, Dublin, the adventurers hoping that it would promote their interests.

While the Irish nation was falling piecemeal a prey to their invaders, the family quarrels of the chieftains accelerated the catastrophe. O'Connor Maonmuid entered Connaught, at the head of a hostile force, to dethrone his father; but the latter, having obtained the assistance of Donald O'Brien, of Thomond, defeated him. Roderic O'Connor, disgusted, and weary of holding the reins of a tottering monarchy, destitute of the sinews of war, and of the means of enforcing a submission to the laws, retired to the abbey of Cong, where he spent the remainder of his days, thirteen years, to prepare for eternity.

The natives sometimes copied the example of the invaders, whose pretence was civilization, but whose practice was a lesson in every manner of cruelty and tyranny. About this time Hugh de Lacy, the usurper of Meath, was assassinated at Durrow, with the stroke of a hatchet, by a young Irish lord, disguised as a workman, while he was building a strong castle to keep the vicinity in subjection. Henry II. on hearing of the death of Lacy, sent his son John, with a considerable army, to repossess himself of the government. Delayed at Chester by contrary winds, the king, on hearing of the death of his son

Geoffry, who died at Paris, sent him orders to return, and charged Philip Wigorne with the expedition to Ireland. Some pretend that Henry himself came to Ireland at that time.

The impending ruin of Ireland was not capable of appeasing the intestine troubles of the Irish, or uniting them for their common preservation. Donald, son of Hugh O'Loghlin, chieftain of Tyrone, was dethroned by his son Roderic Lachertair. The latter made incursions the year following into Tyrconnel, where he was slain, and Donald was again established.

1186. The death of O'Conarchy, bishop of Lismore, and apostolic legate, referred by our annalists to this year, deserves to be noticed only as it elucidates the policy of the courts of Rome and London. Since the first alliance, concluded between Henry II. and Pope Adrian, and continued by their respective successors, judging the reduction of Ireland to be for the interest of the allied powers, they had a Pope's legate always in Ireland, of the king's nomination, and devoted to his interest. Three of them had already acted in that capacity, Cardinal Vivian, O'Hency, archbishop of Cashel, and the last mentioned bishop of Lismore. A fresh spiritual ambassador came from Rome, Cardinal Octavian, with an assistant, Hugh de Nounant, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, to perform the ceremony of crowning his son John, king of Ireland. The ceremony was suspended, says Hoveden, on account of Henry's continental affairs, who brought with him the two legates, to assist at a confe-

rence he was going to hold with the king of France towards a treaty of peace.

That the absurd union of bigotry and robbery could be met with in the native Irish as well as in their English invaders, Mildouin O'Donoghue will serve for an instance. At the head of a gang of freebooters, he plundered the church of Ardfert, and the abbey of Inisfallen, situated in Lough Lene, (now called the Lake of Killarney), and with much effusion of blood. During the prevalence of anarchy and confusion in Ireland, the wealth of these places attracted the cupidity of a number of swordsmen, more able and willing to fight than to work.

The writers on Irish affairs, as has been observed, seem not to have penetrated the policy which induced the invaders to plunder native monasteries, and found new ones in their room. How edifying it is, says Abbé Geoghegan, to see the plunderers of churches, and of other men's properties, making religious foundations! This strange sort of devotion was introduced into Ireland by the English, says the abbé. For instance, Philip Wigorne, viceroy of Ireland, after plundering the university of Armagh, founded a priory of Benedictines at Kilcumin, county of Tipperary. But of what nation were the monks? It appears by the original charter, in the Cottonian library, that they were taken from the Benedictine abbey of Glaston, in England; and were subject to that house, and to the rules of English policy to admit no native members or novices.

Further to illustrate the policy of the English court in pursuing the subjugation of Ireland, we cannot avoid observing, that misrepresentation did appear necessary, notwithstanding the subsidies to the Pope, to obtain his concurrence. When St. Laurence O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin, and three other Irish bishops, were on their passage through England, to the council of Lateran, Henry II. made them swear, that they would not say any thing there prejudicial to his interests. He dreaded the resentment of the council if they heard of the abominable cruelties committed in Ireland. According to the colonial writers, the archbishop of Dublin durst not return, on account of having said something in favour of his nation. Be that as it may, this holy prelate fell sick, and died at the town of Eu, in France. His life was written by a regular canon of Eu, in Surius, with exactitude, according to Baronius. The miracles, which God operated by his intercession, before and after his death, prevailed upon Pope Honorius III. to enrol him in the catalogue of saints, in 1226, by a bull dated the third of December, the tenth year of his pontificate, of which a copy is preserved in the Bullarium of Laurentius Cherubinus. The protestant kings of England were not the first who disliked the big O, for the catholic kings took good care that no other O should sit in the see of Dublin. 'Tis also remarkable, that O'Tool was the last of the Irish saints.

It is surprising that the Pope could not be

undeceived, by the representations of that holy and learned man, of the false pretences of the invaders to civilize Ireland. It was the island of saints and learning before they came; what it has become since, the reader will see, and the present generation are sensible. Thus it appears, that no single virtue was imported from England, but the very contrary, the vices of indigent, unprincipled, libertine invaders. It was not without reason, that Aubin O'Molloy, abbot of Baltinglas, and bishop of Ferns, in an eloquent discourse, before the prelates and clergy of Leinster, convened at Christ-church by the archbishop, John Comyn, on the chastity of ecclesiastics, declaimed powerfully on the incontinence of the clergy who came from England and Wales. To sum up the picture then, breach of treaty, murder of prisoners of war, assassination, robbery and bigotry, carnage, usurpation, and clerical debauchery, were not the means of improving a nation; yet they were the principal things imported by English Papists into Ireland.

When any king or chieftain became formidable to the invaders by his talents, one of their chief means of getting rid of him was, to invite him to a feast or a conference; and if they could seduce him to put confidence in their good faith or loyalty, they gave him pledges thereof with poison or the dagger. Among the number of those who fell victims to their perfidy, must not be omitted Dermot Mac Carty, king of Desmond. Invited to Cork, by Theobald Walter

in 1186, as if to a friendly conference, to make a treaty of peace with the invaders, he was basely assassinated. Yet this chieftain had bestowed a considerable territory, in the county of Kerry, on Raymond, one of the principal leaders of his murderers, whose posterity long held it by the name of Clanmorres. But the most atrocious instance upon record, unexampled perhaps in the history of the heathen world, was the perfidious massacre of the noble families of O'Moore, invited to a friendly conference, by the ministers of Philip and his wife, commonly called, by Protestant writers, bloody queen Mary. This shall be narrated more at large in its proper place. I only mention it here, to shew that the policy of the colony, from the beginning, was invariable; and to make my countrymen sensible, that it is not difference of religion which they ought to consider as the real cause of civil discord and animosity, but CLASHING INTERESTS and NATIONAL ANTIPATHIES, necessarily subsisting between a conquering and an oppressed nation. In a fair review of the conduct of English Papists and English Protestants towards Ireland, it will appear to an unprejudiced reader, that the latter have not exceeded the former in outrage and inhumanity; and that the Popish pale was as truly hostile to the national interest as the Orange confederation may be supposed now. Catholics and Protestants live amicably in France, Switzerland, Germany, and America; and would do so in any country, where the ruling power thought proper to encourage mu-

tual toleration, and the arts of peace. In more than one church beyond the Rhine, I have seen the altar at one end, and the communion-table at the other, where Catholics and Protestants paid the tribute of devotion to their Maker, at different hours. Certain I am, they were not worse Christians for this mutual toleration. They practically enforced the parable of the good Samaritan; in which our Saviour commands us to love a dissenter or a heretic as a brother. But when unfortunately the rulers of a country think it politic to divide the people, they will illustrate the ingenious and shrewd reply of Maurice, archbishop of Cashel. Father Barry reproached the church of Ireland, in the presence of the Pope's legate, with having no martyrs to boast of. The bishop replied, "We shall not be long so. Our new visitors have given sufficient specimens, both in their own country and in this, that they are very well inclined to make martyrs." He alluded to the murder of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the cruelties of the invaders in Ireland. This prediction was but too well accomplished afterwards.

It is a striking instance of national character, that whilst a generous and religious people were perishing in the tumults of anarchy and confusion, atrocities and acts of piety and charity appear together on the scene. In 1178, Donald O'Loughlin, king of Tyrone, gained a victory, and lost his life, in a bloody battle with the English. The same year Alfred Palmer, of Danish descent, founded the priory of John the

Baptist, at Newgate, Dublin, which was afterwards endowed and converted into an hospital, with 150 beds for the sick, without mentioning chaplains and physicians.

As a picture of the manners and state of the pretended civiliziers, it will be apropos to mention the death of Henry II. as recorded by English historians. In 1189, Henry II. king of England, absorbed in an abyss of sorrow and despair, cursing his birth, and the day he was born,* a memorable lesson to ambitious invaders! died, at the castle of Chinon, and was buried at Font Everard. He was long languishing, but the list that Philip Augustus, king of France, sent him, of the number of those that were conspiring against him, among whom was his son John, gave him the finishing blow. His obsequies were performed in the following manner, according to Baker. His body was covered with the royal robes, his crown on his head, white gloves on his hands, boots with golden spurs on his legs, a ring of great value on his finger, a sceptre in his hand, a sword by his side, and his face uncovered.

After the death of Henry, Richard I. known by the name of Cœur de Lion, ascended the throne. His first enterprise was an expedition to the Holy Land. It is not necessary, with some, to attribute this to any desire of expiating the crime of rebellion, of which he was guilty towards his father. The crusades were fashionable

* Westmonast. Flor. Hist. Lib. II. an. 1189.

at that time, and the young king was ambitious of signalizing his valour among the sovereigns which took up the cross. The affairs of the colony he left to the management of his brother John, whom his father had appointed king thereof; yet he did not omit to renew the alliance with the Pope, and strengthen the English interest in Ireland, by the authority of a legate from the Holy See. For this purpose he sent a deputation to Pope Clement III., requesting the nomination of William Longfield, bishop of Ely, in quality of legate. It appears by the Pope's rescript, in answer to this request, which he granted, that the part of Ireland, then possessed by the English, was not considerable; for the words of the rescript are these. "Clement, the bishop, &c. According to the commendable desire of our beloved son in God, Richard, the illustrious king of England, we commit to your fraternity the office of legate in all England and Wales, as well in the diocess of Canterbury as in that of York, and in those parts of Ireland in which that nobleman, John Morton, the king's brother, has authority and dominion. Given the third of June, the third year of our pontificate, 1188."*

Meanwhile the Irish did not forget their family dissensions, or their provincial wars, which the English took care to foment. In Connaught, Cathal Carrach, the son of Cathal Maonmuid, succeeded his father, but found a formidable

* Matt. Paris. Angl. Hist. ad an. 1188, p. 103.

rival in his uncle Cathal Crovdearg. Each had partizans to espouse his quarrel, not only of the Irish natives, but of the English colonists. Fitz-Aldelm declared for Cathal Carrach, and Courcy for Crovdearg. After some skirmishing, they came to a decisive action; Cathal Carrach and his party were routed, after an obstinate battle, in which he and many nobles of the province were slain. Fitz-Aldelm returned to Limerick, with what troops he had left; and the victorious Crovdearg laid siege to a castle he had built in Mileach O Madden, (O Madden's country,) but the English garrison withdrawing at night, the castle was demolished.

Still the fashion continued of mingling domestic quarrels, plunder, and bloodshed, with religious foundations, monasteries, and churches. The abbey of Knockmoel was about this time founded by Cathal Crovdearg, in gratitude for his victory. And the English, as usual, did not cease to plunder the monasteries, and to appropriate at least a part of the spoil for the establishment of English monks, attached to the English interest in Ireland. The priory of St. Mary, at Kenlis, county Kilkenny, was founded by Geoffry, seneschal of Leinster. It is mentioned by Dugdale and Doddsworth, in their *Monasticon Anglicanum*. Jocelyn Nangle founded an abbey at Navan for Augustinians. A priory, in the name of Peter and Paul, was founded for the same order, by the Roches of Fermoy. John Conyn, archbishop of Dublin, repaired the cathedral called Christ-church, and entirely re-

built St. Patrick's, which was falling into decay.

While these works of policy and devotion were going on, the hostilities of the natives against each other did not relax. War had some time continued between the O'Briens of Thomond, and the Mac Cartys of Desmond. Peace was at length concluded between these two clans, but was of no long duration.

As if Heaven were offended at the incessant discords of these unfortunate people, at a time when union was so indispensable for their preservation, Munster was visited by storms and hurricanes, which demolished castles and churches, and destroyed a number of people.

Still new foundations of monasteries! At Glas-carig, in Wexford, an abbey of Benedictines. At Ballymore, in Westmeath, an abbey of Cistercians; and another in the town of Down. A priory in Trim, and another in Kells, by a bishop of Meath, and Walter Lacy.

King Richard, on his return from the Holy Land, was shipwrecked in the Adriatic. He wished to travel incog. through Germany, on his return to England, but had the misfortune to fall into the hands of Leopold, marquis of Austria. That prince forgot not the affront he suffered from Richard, at the siege of Acre; who had snatched from him a standard he had planted on the top of a tower, to plant his own in its stead. He sold Richard to the emperor Henry VII. who kept him prisoner fifteen months! His brother John, according to Ware, was willing to take advantage of this incident, and took

some steps to get himself crowned king of England; but, mistrusting the issue, he was content to fortify some castles in England; after which he had an interview with Philip Augustus, king of France, then in Normandy, who received him with distinction. English writers say, that Richard, on his return from captivity, was received with acclamations of joy. But it is difficult to reconcile that with his long captivity, when a ransom would have extricated him at once. Perhaps the English had not at that time learned to pay foreign subsidies.

The hereditary hostility of Irish chieftains continued to furnish the invaders with inexhaustible facilities for depredation and conquest. The O'Briens, at enmity with the Mac Cartys, the chieftain of Thomond allowed the English to build the castle of Briginis, as a place of safety, to protect their incursions into Desmond. Aided by such means, the invaders never ceased to pillage: they held nothing sacred that was Irish. Gilbert Nangle pillaged the abbey of Inis Cloghran, situated in Lough Rea; while the spouse of Courcy founded an abbey in Ulster, with the usual English policy, endowed for English monks.

Our annalists place the death of Dervorgeile, wife of Tighernan O'Rourke, to this year, 1193. She differed from Helen in this: the Greek beauty brought destruction on Troy, the country of her gallant, while the Irish beauty plunged her native country, by her debaucheries, into irretrievable calamities.

During this reign Richard was so much taken up with continental affairs, being almost constantly at war with the king of France, that he did not follow up his father's views, on the conquest of Ireland, by the powerful means he possessed. He left the English colony to avail themselves of the divisions of the Irish; and to derive from England such reinforcements, from time to time, as might be necessary for their security.

Many of the Irish chieftains, like Dermot O'Brien, of Limerick, who died about this time, repented the confidence they placed in these foreigners, and the footing they allowed them in the country. Notwithstanding the allowance of building a castle, for the annoyance of Desmond, the English, by their usual means of fraud, got possession of his second son Mortough, and put out his eyes. It is probable, that it was not without the consent of Donough O'Brien, his successor, that Mac Carty was able to demolish the castle, and drive the English out of Limerick. Such occasional victories availed not the Irish, because they either would not or could not follow them up. Regular campaigns can only be carried on by standing forces, which the Irish never kept on foot.

After this defeat a reinforcement arrived on the coast of Munster, under Philip Wigorne, which restored the affairs of the colonists. In Ulster, Roderic, chieftain of Ulidia, in conjunction with the English, made an inroad into Tyrone; but was attacked at Armagh, during

his retreat, by O'Loughlin, prince of Tyrone, who was soon afterwards assassinated by O'Ca-han. A similar invasion of Tirconnel, by Russel, governor of the castle of Kilsandra, was attended with worse consequences to the invaders. On their return, with a considerable booty, they were attacked by O'Mildouin, chieftain of Tirconnel, and most of them slain. Mac Carty, of Desmond, irritated by the depredations of the English, put the garrison of Imaculla to the sword, and demolished the fortress. He treated in the same manner, the garrison of Kilfecal. The English, to arrest his progress, mustered all the forces they could; in consequence of which a truce was made, without coming to blows.

That no part of Ireland should have repose, Gilbert Nangle, one of the invaders planted in Meath, assembled a number of freebooters, and committed great depredations in the neighbouring countries. Had he done so in the Irish countries, he would be praised and rewarded; but, committing outrages within the pale, drew on him the resentment of the justice, Hamon de Valoin, who demolished his castles, and confiscated his estates.

Such was the state of unfortunate Ireland. Her annals present nothing to the view but incessant storms and outrages. Here and there, indeed, the dreadful scene is diversified, by some acts of bigotry or devotion. At Termon Feckin, in the county Louth, a nunnery was founded by Mac Mahon, a nobleman of that country. And De Courcy ravaged Tirconnel, and slew its

chieftain, O'Dogherty, who had succeeded the heroic O'Mildouin. The English did not forget their policy of fortifying themselves; they built the castles of Ardpatrick and Astrettin, in Munster.

One would be surprized, that the adventurers were able to carry on war against the natives, in so many, and so distant parts of Ireland, at the same time, if he did not know, that most of their forces consisted of native Irish, whether as allies or mercenaries. Without such auxiliaries, they could not effectually carry on their plan of extermination. For the natives were so swift of foot, according to the accounts of their enemies, that the English cavalry could not overtake them in a retreat. But they had bodies of their own countrymen, as light infantry, for pursuit and slaughter. By such means were the English enabled to carry on their hostilities in Ireland.

In 1199, Courcy made a second irruption into Tyrone, laid waste the country, and brought with him much booty, but not with impunity. O'Neill overtook them at Donoughmore, where he completely defeated them, and recovered the booty. At the same time the English of Desmond overrun the country of Munster, and laid waste the whole of it, from the Shannon to the sea. And Richard Tuite built a castle at Granard, to check the O'Reillys, who annoyed the quarters of the invaders. With a similar policy, the Whites of the county of Down established a garrison of Cistercian monks, brought from Wales. The earl of Pembroke established a

similar one at Tinterne, on the coast of Wexford, garrisoned by Cistercian monks from Wales; another at Kilrush, in the county of Kildare, of a different order, but for a similar purpose, to which he added two more in Wexford, of military orders.

Such was the deplorable state of this divided country, when Richard I. died in Normandy. He survived his captivity but five or six years. In attempting to take the castle of Chalus, near Limoges, by assault, he was wounded in the arm with an arrow, and his wound, by the ignorance of his surgeon, became mortal. His sudden death afforded John Lackland, stiled Lord of Ireland, a favourable opportunity to seize on the crown, to the prejudice of the rightful heir, Arthur, son of Geoffry, the eldest son and heir of Henry II. Arthur took arms in defence of his right, encouraged by Philip of France; but, taken prisoner at Mirabel, in Poitou, by his usurping uncle, he was brought under a strong guard to Rouen, and put to death. By these means John Lackland gave the lie to his name; uniting under his dominion the extensive continental territories of his father, together with England, the Irish colony, and his pretensions to the whole of Ireland.

This is an instance of the inscrutable ways by which Providence rules the fortunes of nations. Had Henry II. lived to crown his son John king of Ireland, and that his elder brothers, or their heirs, lived to inherit England and Normandy, Ireland would have remained an independent

kingdom. John's posterity, reared in Ireland, education and interest would make them Irishmen. The invaders, instead of being freebooters, would become good subjects. They would learn a language more copious and elegant than their own, which at that time was a barbarous jargon, half French, half Saxon. As the Tartar conquerors of China were civilized and became Chinese, so it would be counted no degeneracy in the English or Welsh to become real Irish, and imbibe the native virtues. Well it had been for their posterity, for in the various revolutions in religion and politics, and the confiscations that usually succeeded them, few of their offspring that are not found mingled in the mass of Irish sufferers. Fresh swarms of adventurers pouring in, during the wars of Elizabeth, Cromwell, and William, used the same language and conduct towards them as they did to the ancient natives, "the only way to civilize them was, to kill them and take their properties." This was not the plan of Henry the Second: as he demonstrated, by his intention of making his son John king of Ireland. It was the language of the detestable father Barry, the first libeller of Ireland, and tutor to king John, but too faithfully put in execution by the adventurers. The same maxim was afterwards repeated by bishop Jones, who had been scout-master to Oliver Cromwell's army. And it must be allowed, that the adventurers of that day, and ever since, acted their part in Ireland's tragedy, with no less ability

than the first adventurers. The death of one or two men decided the destiny of this nation. Was it the effect of chance? Was it the decree of Providence? Numerous prophecies, published by Irish saints, warned this nation of its downfall; but they likewise consoled it, with the prospect of a more glorious uprising.

King John, no less avaricious than his father, screwed his subjects for money. His reign might be justly called a continual tax. He sold, according to Hoveden, to William de Braosa and other adventurers, for 4000 marks of silver, all the country of the O Carrols, O Kennedys, O Meaghers, O Fogartys, O Ryans, O Heffernans, &c. which Henry II. his father, had bestowed to Philip de Worcester and Theobald Fitz-Walter. The Pope and the king of England no doubt were very liberal in bestowing what was not their own, but king John, like most other robbers, thought it better to convert it into cash. Worcester however, who was then in England, came to Ireland through Scotland, and retook possession of his grant by force of arms. Fitz-Walter, with the assistance of Hugh Bere, his brother, archbishop of Canterbury, compounded with Braosa for his grant, by paying him 500 marks, which bargain was signed in the presence of the king. Henry II. had already appointed Fitz-Walter grand butler of Ireland. From this office his descendants took the name of Butler.

The sudden prosperity of the adventurers, rising at once from indigence to opulence and power, had its usual effect. Envy and jealousy

soon began to divide them like the ancient natives. The secret enmity between Lacy and Courcy burst forth in the beginning of the reign of king John. His usurpation of the crown from the lawful heir, Arthur, his nephew, rendered him odious to the public, and his inhuman butchery of the innocent youth made him detestable. De Courcy, a valiant though cruel warrior, was not very guarded in his expressions of abhorrence. In some of his transports he went so far as to curse the tyrant, of which the king was informed. Apprised of the enmity between him and Lacy, he appointed the latter justice of Ireland, with orders to arrest Courcy, and to send him in irons to England. Lacy, delighted with a situation, and a command, so flattering to his sentiments, neglected nothing to fulfill his commission. He marched with the forces of the Pale to Down, where De Courcy with his Irish mercenaries and allies defeated him. Lacy, seeing it impossible to conquer him by force of arms, published a royal manifesto, declaring him a traitor to the king, and offering a reward to whomsoever would take him, dead or alive. The valour of his allies could not save him from the treachery of his domestics. By some of these miscreants he was secretly conveyed, on Good Friday, to the justice, who, after paying the promised reward, hanged them. Lacy, without delay, brought his captive to the king, who, in recompence for this service, bestowed on him Courcy's possessions in Ireland, with the title of earl of Ulster.

Notwithstanding the dissensions amongst the chiefs of the colony, they were not unmindful of any means to strengthen the English interest, by multiplying the garrisons of spiritual invaders. At Granee, in the county Kildare, one was erected by Ridlesford, for Augustinians of English descent, mentioned by the authors of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, with the bull of confirmation of Pope Innocent III. anno 1207. At Nenagh, county Tipperary, Theobald Walter, chief of the Butlers, founded a priory of the Hospitallers. At Athassel, in the same county, a priory of canons regular was founded by De Burgh, from whom the Burkes. At Kilbeggan, in the county Westmeath, there was a Cistercian abbey founded by the Daltons. At Tristernagh, in the same county, a priory of canons regular of St. Augustine was founded by Geoffry. In the town of Wexford, the priory of Peter and Paul, for canons regular of St. Augustine, was founded by the Roches of Fermoy. At Naas, in the county Kildare, a priory of the same order was founded by the baron of Naas. At Connall, on the banks of the Liffey, county Kildare, a rich priory for canons regular of St. Augustine, was founded by Meyler Fitz-Henry, a natural son of Henry II. This priory depended on the abbey of Anthony in England; the original act of its foundation is in the Bodleian library. An abbey dedicated to St. Wolstan, lately canonized by Pope Innocent III. commonly called *Scala Celi*, in Latin, was founded by Richard and Adam de Hereford, and filled with English monks, anno 1205. At

Ouney, in the county of Limerick, an abbey of Cistercians, peopled with Norman monks from Avranché, by Theobald Fitz-Walter, the first grand butler of Ireland. It would be tedious to the reader to go over the long detail of similar foundations, recorded by English and Anglo-Irish writers; such as that of Inisteige, in the county of Kilkenny, founded by the seneschal of Leinster; that of the Cross-bearers, founded in Drogheda; that of Newtown, near Trim, by Rochefort, bishop of Meath; that of Douske, county of Kilkenny, founded by Marshall, earl of Pembroke, for Cistercians; that of Ardee, county of Louth, founded by Pipard, for cross-bearers, &c.

The reader will not imagine that the plunderers of Irish monasteries, and of Irish property in general, the breakers of treaties, the murderers of prisoners of war, and of innocent and unoffending people, were actuated by piety, in disposing of a part of the plunder in the building of monasteries. If they were not moral and just, they were at least politic, and in these foundations they closely followed the Roman policy of establishing colonies in conquered countries. They also had a fair pattern of the same policy in the conduct of the See of Rome; who, in confirming the establishment of any new order of monks, took care that the novices should, on their admission, swear passive obedience to their superiors; and that the chief of the order, under the title of general, should remain at Rome, under the eye of the Pope. This did

not escape the penetrating eye of Frederic II., who, on the suppression of the order of the Jesuits, was heard to say, " I wonder what could induce Ganganelli to disband his grenadiers." To root out Irish monks, and plant English in their place, to keep a strict alliance with the Pope, by an annual subsidy, was to wield the two-edged sword of the temporal and spiritual power, for the subjugation of Ireland.

This policy has been exemplified in the dumb creation. After the destruction of the Irish forests, for hunting the Irish natives, the importation of timber became necessary. Together with the timber from the Baltic, the rats, commonly known by the name of Norway, were imported; who, without regarding the prescriptive title of the little black rats of Ireland, or the immemorial possession of their rat-holes; without soliciting a grant, either from the Pope or the king of England, but with all the ferocity of invaders, they gave no quarters. Fighting them under ground, and above ground, they destroyed the race. A similar revolution attended the Milesian bees. More long and slender than those now commonly seen, and of a darker hue; a few of them are still to be found wild in different parts of the country. In imitation of their ancestors of a warmer climate, they collect less wax, make their cells thinner, but gather more honey than the present race; and, with Milesian hospitality, they will not fight for their treasure, but, if plundered, they flit, and begin to work again

While these measures of profound policy and powerful means were preparing for the destruction of the ancient Irish, as if blinded by fate or Providence, they were still a prey to civil dissensions. Hugh O'Neil, chieftain of Tyrone, was dethroned by Cornelius Mac Loghlin; but on the latter being slain in battle shortly after by O'Donnel, he was re-established. Such was the anarchy of the Irish, that the discord of the English chiefs availed them nothing. The sale of the grant to Philip de Worcester, by the king, to William de Braosa, caused a great deal of trouble in Munster, as the grantee sought forcible possession: but the matter was compromised by the surrender of Knock Graffan, and some other places, to William. Geoffry Mac Morres, from some motives of ambition or discontent, at present unknown, raised an insurrection against his fellow adventurers in Tipperary. Lacy, in quality of king's justice, marched with all the troops he could collect towards Thurles, to quell the insurrection. He razed Castle Meyler; but, after losing a great number of men in the taking of it, and in different actions with the Irish, he was obliged to give up the enterprise.

This, and all the other instances, which are numerous, of Irish valour, availed the unfortunate natives nothing. Actuated only by chivalrous principles, and torn by hereditary feuds and vehement passions, their arms were directed against themselves, by the cool, cruel policy of a phlegmatic people. England, with its continental possessions, was powerful and near. It

was an inexhaustible source of men and arms. The divisions of the numerous clans of Ireland, fomented by the intrigues of England, made them at last a sure, though a difficult prey. The difficulty of the conquest may be estimated by comparison. The vast empire of Hindoostan, almost as distant from England as the antipodes, has been conquered in less than a century. And Ireland, so small, so contiguous to England, so distracted by anarchy and civil war, was not subdued during four hundred years. 'Twas the introduction of gunpowder alone, which deprived the natives of the advantages of superior strength, agility, and skill at arms, that enabled all England, and half Ireland, after a contest of fifteen years, to subdue the North.

In 1209, the city of Dublin was taught by severe experience, that the Irish had learned some lessons of cruelty from the invaders. The citizens of Dublin were regaling themselves at Cullen's wood, (so called from O'Cullen, the ancient proprietor,) on Easter-Monday, when they were unexpectedly attacked by the O'Byrnes and the O'Tooles, and a great number of them massacred. This gave rise to an annual custom, long observed by the citizens of Dublin, of commemorating this disaster on the spot where it happened; and the day was denominated Black-Monday. In succeeding ages new actors appear—the feast of the Pale is forgotten—the festivals of the Cromwellians and of the Williamites now yearly fan the breeze of civil dissension.

The situation of the English colony induced

king John to undertake an expedition to Ireland in person. He landed at Waterford, in 1209, at the head of a numerous and well appointed army, to suppress the bordering clans, who were making severe reprisals on the murdering, marauding invaders. He advanced towards Dublin, where he received the homage of several chieftains, but there were many who did not condescend to pay him court.* The object of this expedition appears to have been, rather the establishing order and obedience to the royal authority in the pale, than the conquest of Ireland. For this purpose he took possession of the castles and strong holds of the adventurers. All fled before him. Among the rest William de Braosa with his whole family; but they were taken, conveyed to England, and confined in the castle of Windsor, where they died of hunger. Nor did the Lacys entirely escape the consequences of their tyranny and rapine. Walter, and Hugh, justice of Ireland, tormented by remorse for their crimes, and terrified by the complaints made to the king, fled to Normandy; upon which, John Gray, bishop of Norwich, was appointed the king's deputy. For the purpose of concealment, they presented themselves at the abbey of St. Taurin d'Evreux, as labourers, where being received, they tilled the fields and gardens of the abbey during three years. After some time, the abbot, suspecting from their manners and language, that they were

* Matt. Paris. Angl. Hist. Major, ad an. 1210.

not originally bred to manual labour, questioned them about their descent and family. Having learned from them their history, he took compassion on them, and undertook to make their peace. His interposition with an avaricious king had its full force. John allowed them to return to Ireland, and re-possess themselves of the grants of his father, on paying a large ransom. Walter paid for Meath 2500 marks of silver, and his brother Hugh had to pay a more considerable sum for his grants in Ulster and Connaught.

After establishing some laws for the government of the pale, and the regulation of the mint, he passed over to Wales, where he took twenty-eight children of the first quality as hostages; but, on hearing that the Welsh began to revolt, in a transport of rage, he ordered these innocents to be hanged in his presence, while at dinner. This trait of barbarity alone, sufficiently depicts this cruel and barbarous tyrant; but the murder of his nephew Arthur, the rightful heir to the crown, had already made him odious and contemptible both at home and abroad. For this he was cited to appear before a court of the peers of France. Not appearing, he was declared a rebel; his territories in France were confiscated, and he was condemned to death, as the crime was committed within the jurisdiction of the French monarchy. Normandy, Touraine, Anjou and Maine, were re-united to the French domain, and Guienne alone remained to England. Another false step, taken by John, com-

pleted his humiliation. Having opposed the election of Cardinal Langton for the see of Canterbury, the Pope put his kingdom under an interdict. The king then set about confiscating the property of the church; and irritated the nobility, by refusing them the privileges and liberties which Henry I. had granted them by charter. Authorised by the general complaints, presented both from the nobility and clergy, the Pope excommunicated him, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and bestowed England to the king of France.* John, seeing himself abandoned by the whole nation, was obliged to submit to the Pope, and make a most humiliating penance. He was obliged to lay down his crown at the feet of monks appointed to dictate the terms, to strip naked, and receive a flagellation with a Miserere; and then humbly receive the crown back again from his Holiness, promising him vassalage, and an increase of tribute.

He was not equally condescending to his subjects; but, emboldened by the renewal of the alliance with the Head of the church, he broke all his promises with them. The English, in revenge, kept no terms with him; but invited Louis, son of Philip of France, and crowned him in London. John did not think it proper to meet his rival, but marched towards the north. Louis also set in motion, with an army of his new subjects, and took Norwich and Dover. Meanwhile John sent an embassy to the Pope.

* Abbe O'Geoghagan, *Hist. d'Irlande*, T. II. c. ii. p. 60. Paris edit.

claiming his alliance and protection, as a vassal. The Holy Father excommunicated Louis and the English. But this interference did not rescue John from his fate. He lost his baggage and treasure, whilst passing from Lynn to Leicestershire. A few days after he died, broken-hearted, at Newark. His death appeased the resentment of the English, who declared for Henry, his son. He reigned under the name of Henry III,

We find in the writings of our annalists, that the rage for building monasteries, with which Ireland was overloaded, continued unabated. New religious orders, about this time, made their appearance in Ireland, and multiplied their convents, Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, Cross-bearers, Premonstratenses, &c. Such institutions are conformable to the Christian religion; and, with a reasonable limitation, would be useful. But one may easily perceive, that it was not piety, but policy, that guided the destroyers and builders of monasteries to erect these strongholds, peopled with ecclesiastical invaders. The natives seem to have been aware of the policy of these foundations; for they began to rival the English in building monasteries, from which, by the law of retaliation, novices of English descent were excluded.

In 1216, Henry III. was crowned, in the ninth year of his age, by the bishops of Winchester and Bath, in presence of the Pope's legate. After the customary oaths of loyalty to God and his holy church, and of doing justice to his subjects, he made homage to the Pope for

his kingdom, and engaged on oath to pay the thousand marks tribute, in addition to the hearth-money, to the see of Rome.

The chiefs of the adventurers in Ireland, like the captains of Alexander, became giddy by their sudden elevation from indigence to opulence, and desolated the unfortunate country by their hostilities. Meath suffered by the hostilities of Hugh de Lacy with William Marshall. Leinster and Munster were often wasted by the quarrels of the latter with Meyler Fitz-Henry. Taking forcible possession of some lands belonging to the bishop of Ferns, he died excommunicated. Some writers on Irish affairs observe, that Divine vengeance chastises impiety; and that his five sons by Isabel, daughter of Strongbow, and heiress, by fraudulent compact, of Leinster, left no posterity.

A strong instance of the English policy in building and destroying monasteries, was furnished by Meyler Fitz-Henry, whose death is just related. At the head of an armed banditti, he entered the town of Cluain Mac Naois, murdered indiscriminately all he met, plundered houses, churches and monasteries, not sparing the ornaments and sacred vessels. Yet this monster of cruelty built an ecclesiastical garrison at Conall, where he was interred. That the English persevered steadily to establish their authority, by ecclesiastical as well as secular means, may be perceived, not only by their establishing convents of English monks, but likewise by their efforts to establish bishops of English descent

wherever their interest could prevail. Henry de Londres, archbishop of Dublin, called so from the city of London, of which he was a native, died about this time, and was succeeded by Lucas, dean of the church of St. Martin, London. Eugene, archbishop of Armagh, was succeeded by Luke Netterville.

As a proof of the munificence of some of these religious foundations, we may instance the Old Four Courts, Christ-church-lane, Dublin. This building was originally erected for Cistercian monks, of Norman or English descent indifferently. It was afterwards conceded to the Dominicans, on condition of offering a lighted wax candle annually, on Christmas-day, to the Cistercian abbey, the scite of which is now called Mary's abbey. As the numerous foundations, mentioned year after year by our annalists, rather belong to topography than national history, we shall not detain the reader with a detail, only a few instances occasionally.

While the Anglo-Irish were thus busied in mining or countermining the natives, by every means that religion, arms or policy could suggest, the Holy Father took occasion, from his quarrel with the emperor Frederic, to make his English vassals sensible of the weight of his alliance. To obtain the sinews of war, Gregory IX. sent Stephen, as nuncio, with an apostolic mandate, for the payment of the tenth of all moveable property, lay and clerical, from England and Ireland. The English peers rejected this demand; but the clergy, dreading excommuni-

cation, yielded a reluctant obedience. The inhabitants of the pale, sensible of the importance of the Roman alliance, sold not only private property, but the church utensils, to satisfy his demands.

1229. The monarchs of England had still a hankering for the French provinces wrested from king John. Henry III. made some efforts for the recovery of Normandy. He drew, for this enterprise, auxiliaries from Ireland, which served in fact as a practical military school for English adventurers. Maurice Fitz-Gerald, the justice, had the command of this expedition, and Hubert de Burgo became his substitute in the government of the pale. This man deserves to be noticed, as a striking instance of the versatility of human affairs. In high repute, for his gallant defence of Dover against prince Louis, he was appointed governor to the king, during his long minority, lord justice of Ireland, and earl of Kent. But he lived to experience a sad reverse. Disgraced by the king, who treated him as an old traitor, and confined to the tower of London. During the period of his elevation, Maurice Fitz-Gerald being still on the continent, he appointed Geoffry Maurice as the king's deputy in Ireland.

The native princes made now and then some faint and transitory efforts to resist encroachments, or recover their lost patrimony. The king of Connaught, thinking the absence of William Marshall and Robert Fitz-Gerald a favourable opportunity, made some incursions into the Eng-

lish territories; but the chieftains of the English settlers had the advantage of trained mercenary bands, accustomed to discipline and obedience, to oppose to an undisciplined multitude. The justice, Geoffry Maurice, summoned Walter Lacy, and Richard de Burgo, to his assistance, with all the forces they could raise, with whom he marched to Connaught. Coming to the borders of a wood, they learned by their spies, that the king of Connaught, with his force, was encamped on the opposite side of it. Geoffry thereupon divided his army into three columns. He gave the command of two of them to Walter de Lacy, and Richard de Burgo, with orders to hide in the wood, to the right and left of the road by which it was traversed. With the third he marched to meet the king of Connaught, and drew up his forces in order of battle. According to his wishes, he was immediately attacked by the Irish. The artful justice thereupon retreated. The Irish fell into the ambuscade, and were cut to pieces, their king taken prisoner. The loss of the Connaught army, some English writers say, was 20,000 men. But this narrative is not accompanied by circumstances indispensable to history. Time, place and name are wanting. It was written by people accustomed to sacrifice truth on the altar of national vanity. Had the swords of English warriors been as destructive as the pens of their writers, few of their enemies would survive the slaughter. Whether any king of Connaught ever experienced such a defeat, it is certain, that the supposed conqueror met a

fate, due perhaps to his conduct. Disgraced and sent into exile by his king, the tragical end of his son completed his misfortune. He sunk, unregretted, by the doleful tale that his son was hanged and quartered for his crimes.

It may perhaps diversify the tragic scene a little, to remark, that amidst the tumults of anarchy and predatory warfare, learning was not entirely forgotten in the island of saints. Many of the religious foundations were partly destined for the purpose of education. And we meet in our analists, now and then, the names of men, eminent for their literature. Such as Cornelius, called Historicus, on account of his knowledge of antiquities; of whose life Bale and Stanihurst gave an abridgment. Hector Bœtius acknowledges himself indebted to this author of *Multarum Rerum Chronicon*, for much useful information towards the knowledge of Scottish history. If envy be a sure test of merit, his memory is not destitute of that kind of testimony. Dempster, the saint-stealer, with his gluttonous patriotism, would swallow this man into his own country, along with the rest of his thefts.

'Twas during the minority of Henry III., when one of his English settlers, Hubert, became governor to the minor, and chief justice of England, that the affairs of the English colonists flourished. He passed two charters in their favour, which are published by Leland; and, being remarkable for the privileges granted to his Irish subjects, are here inserted.

“ The king, to Geoffry de Maurisco, Justiciary of Ireland, greeting.

“ WE return our manifold thanks, for your good and faithful service performed to John, late king of England, our father, of blessed memory, and to us to be continued, and for those things you have signified to us, by our trusty Ralph of Norwich, clerk.

“ Seeing then, that by his will, in whose hands are the issues of life and death, our lord and father hath happily departed this life, (whose soul may the heavens receive!) We will you to know, that, the royal obsequies being first solemnly and duly performed in the church of the blessed Mary of Winchester, there were convened at Gloucester the greater number of the nobles of our realm, bishops, abbots, earls, and barons, who adhered faithful and devoted to our father during his lifetime, and very many others: where, on the feast of the apostles Simon and Jude, in the church of Saint Peter, Gloucester, with the acclamations of the clergy and laity, we were, by the hands of the lord Gualon, by the title of St. Martin, presbyter, cardinal and legate of the apostolic see, and those of the bishops then present, with invocation of the Holy Spirit, publicly anointed, and crowned king of England; fealty and homage being of all performed to us. Which we have judged necessary to communicate to you as our liege subject, that you may share the joy of our honour and happy success.

“ And whereas we have heard that some resentment hath arisen between our lord and father aforesaid, and certain nobles of our realm; and for some time subsisted; whether with cause or without cause, we know not; our pleasure is, that it should be for ever abolished and forgotten, so as never to remain in our mind; and in order that the effect may cease with the removal of the cause, whatever resentment was conceived, or subsisted against him, we are ready and willing to the utmost of our power to atone for, by yielding to all persons what reason shall suggest, and the good counsel of our subjects direct, abolishing all evil usages from our realm, and by the restoration of liberties and free customs, so as to recal the gracious days of our ancestors, granting to all our subjects what each may fairly and reasonably claim. For this purpose know ye, that a council being lately convened at Bristol, in which were present all the prelates of England, as well bishops and abbots as priors, and many, as well earls as barons, they did homage and fealty to us, publicly, and generally; and receiving a grant of those liberties and free customs first demanded and approved by them, departed in joy, ready and willing to do our service, each to his particular residence.

“ We further hope, and trust in the Lord, that the state of our realm shall, by the divine mercy, be changed considerably for the better.

“ As to sending our lady the queen-mother, or our brother, into Ireland, our answer is, that taking the advice and assent of our faithful sub-

jects, we shall do that which shall be expedient to our interest and the interest of our realm.

“ We therefore desire you our beloved, that as you have been faithful and devoted to John our father, of blessed memory, so you may be the more careful to continue in fidelity to us, as you know that in this our tender age we have the more occasion for your assistance and counsel; and that you receive the homage of the princes of Ireland, and all others who ought to do it unto us.

“ We retain at our court Ralph of Norwich, that by his means we may signify our pleasure to you, more fully, in these and other matters. And our pleasure is, that you and our other faithful subjects of Ireland shall enjoy the same liberties which we have granted to our subjects of England; and these we will grant and confirm to you.”

“ The king to all archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, knights, and free tenants, and all our faithful subjects settled throughout Ireland. Greeting.

“ With our hearty commendation of your fidelity in the Lord, which you have ever exhibited to our lord father, and to us in these our days are to exhibit, our pleasure is, that in token of this your famous and notable fidelity, the liberties granted by our father, and by us, of our grace and gift, to the realm of England, shall in our kingdom of Ireland, be enjoyed by you

and by your heirs for ever. Which liberties, distinctly reduced to writing by the general counsel of all our liege subjects, we transmit to you, sealed with the seals of our lord Gualon, legate of the apostolical see, and of our trusty earl William Marishal, our governor, and the governor of our kingdom; because, as yet, we have no seal. And the same shall in process of time, and on fuller counsel, receive the signature of our own seal. Given at Gloucester the sixth day of February."

The partiality of the chief justice to the Anglo-Irish interest, appears clearly in these grants, which were voluntary concessions of the same rights and privileges extorted from king John by the English. The same partiality appears in the unjust donation of the kingdom of Connaught to his kinsman De Burgo.

After the death of Cathal O'Connor, Richard endeavoured to enforce the grant; but O'Nial interposed, in support of the ancient house, and got Turlough O'Connor proclaimed king. The justice, Geoffry Maurice, had recourse to the established usage of divide and conquer. He marched with an army to Connaught, and set up a rival to the new king, Hugh, the son of Cathal. The demands of the English, in reward for this transfer of power, seeming to him and his party excessive, they resisted them with some success, and took a son of Geoffry prisoner. Invited to an amicable conference by the justice, and assassinated, his uncle Turlough re-assumed the so-

verignty. But De Burgo succeeding Geoffry, as king's deputy, soon raised him another rival. His claims of remuneration appearing exorbitant to Phelim O'Connor, he had recourse to arms. The deputy set all the power of the English settlers in motion against him; and further to weaken his resources, declared for the uncle, against whom he had set him up. Yet Phelim had the good fortune to defeat both the English and their Irish partizans, and re-assume the sovereignty without a rival. But what was still of more advantage than a victory, Hubert was in disgrace; his favourite, De Burgo, ceased to be deputy, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald succeeded him.

The king of Connaught took occasion of the favourable moment, and endeavoured to secure his people and country from further insults, by royal protection. The king could not but be astonished at the representations of O'Connor; who, with unaffected candour and simplicity, told the grievous tale of his own and people's sufferings, from the enormity of the settlers; so contrary to the false impressions made on him, by his interested governor, concerning Irish affairs. Accustomed to hear the natives of Ireland described as uncivilized barbarians, he was surprised to see an accomplished and polished gentleman. He was no less shocked to find, that the enormities, falsely imputed to the natives, were most commonly committed by their accusers. In compliance with O'Connor's request, he addressed a letter to Maurice Fitz-Gerald,

his deputy, recommending the affairs of the king of Connaught to his attention, in the following terms.

“ The king to his beloved liege-man, Maurice Fitz-Gerald, justiciary of Ireland, greeting.

“ Our beloved liege-man, Phelim, son of our dearest king of Connaught, signified to us that he purposed to come to England to see us, and to confer with us concerning our mutual affairs; and we sent him word in return, to assist you in the capture of the castle of Milock, which is in the hand of Richard de Burgo, and when that castle shall have been taken, and surrendered to you, and peace restored in Connaught, we are well pleased, and wish that he should come to England along with the messengers whom you shall send to us.

“ These matters being thus settled, take care to give the said Phelim a safe conduct to come to us, in company with some discreet persons, able and willing to give us true information concerning the state of Ireland. Witness myself, May 28, the seventeenth year of our reign.”

Thus, favoured by a revolution in the cabinet, which brought the Geraldines into power, who had no intersecting interests beyond the Shannon, and by the disgrace of the De Burgo family, the most dangerous enemies of the house of O'Connor, Phelim enjoyed the sovereignty for some time in peace. He was neither harassed by

a rival, nor oppressed by any depredations or claims of the English, being protected by the crown as an acknowledged liege-man.

The style of Matthew Paris, in relating this fact, being somewhat curious, it may perhaps gratify the reader to have a literal translation of it. “ A certain little king of that part of Ireland called Cunnoch, came to the king, at London; and made a grievous complaint before the king and council, of the injuries done him by John de Burgo, who did not cease to lay waste the country with fire and sword. For all which trespasses he demanded justice; and that these rash outrages should be bridled by the royal authority; and that he would not suffer his liege-man, who paid him 5000 marks a year for his kingdom, to be disinherited by ignoble adventurers (as he said). The king, moved by the justice of his expostulations, commanded Maurice, in the presence of O’Connor, to extirpate the unfruitful wild fig-tree of iniquity’s plantation, which Hubert had planted in those parts, and not to suffer it to ramify any further. He wrote also to the Irish chieftains, to assist his deputy in extirpating De Burgo from all the possessions of O’Connor.”*

At first view this would appear an act of justice and humanity; if one did not know that courts and princes are seldom guided by any other motive than policy. What benefit he expected therefrom, may appear from a celebrated

* Matt. Paris. Angl. Hist. Major. ad an. 1240, p. 365.

letter he sent to the Irish chieftains, requesting their aid against Scotland. Leland has published it from Rymer's *Fœdera*. It is in the following language: "The king, to Donald, king of Tirconnel, health. Whereas the king of Scotland has provoked us by injuries, and that we have prepared to rise against him in revenge for his many transgressions, unless he makes reparation, confiding in your love, that you will not deny us your help in this our expedition, we request you to come along with our justiciary of Ireland, and other liege-men of Ireland, who are soon to come to the parts of Scotland to distress our enemies there; and that you would be pleased to give us such and so powerful a succour, appearing personally at the head of your brave forces, that you may, in any distress, apply to us for succour with full confidence. And by granting to our prayers this your succour, whatever favour you ask, we most willingly shall acknowledge ourselves bound to grant, with a special act of thanksgiving. Witness the king, at Stanford, the 7th day of July."

Copies of this letter were sent to more than twenty Irish chieftains, whose names are preserved in that record, as independent princes in their respective districts, viz. Phelim O'Connor, king of Connaught; O'Reilly, king of Breifne, (Cavan); O Hanlon of Lower Oirgiel, Bryan O'Neill of Tyrone, O'Cathan of Derry, O'Hynery, Mac Donald, Mac Ginnis, Mac Cartane, O'Neill of Claneboy, O'Flinn of Antrim, Mac Mahon of Monaghan, Mac O'Calmary,

O'Brien of Thomond, Mac Carty of Desmond, O'Faolan of the Deisies, O'Condon of Fermoy, O'Caffray, O'Kelly of Wicklow, and Bryan Mac Murchadh of Ranelagh.

What might have been the effect of this requisition cannot be with certainty known at present, for a sudden accommodation with the king of Scotland made the march of the Irish forces unnecessary. Next year, however, the king reaped the benefit, whether of his policy or of his justice, by the decisive assistance of Phelim O'Connor, in his wars with Llewellyn, prince of Wales. David Llewellyn had defeated the royal army, which was reduced to extreme misery during the winter. In his necessities, Henry demanded aid of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, his justiciary, and Phelim O'Connor, king of Connaught. After some delay, which gave the king uneasiness, the justiciary appeared, in company with O'Connor and his forces, when joining the royal army, they obtained a complete victory over the Welsh, upon which he dismissed the Irish troops, and returned to England.

Leland gives O'Connor credit, for being the only chieftain, requested by the king, who attended at his summons; but the justiciary must have been the best judge of what force he deemed sufficient for the enterprise, and would not distress the treasury with a useless expence of sending more troops than was wanting.

Notwithstanding these fair appearances of royal favour, Ireland was still plagued by all the scourges of violence and anarchy. The in-

vaders never ceasing to encroach on the invaded, the latter sometimes making reprisals. By erecting castles in strong situations, they soon found means, among a nation of warriors, to get troops to garrison them, and to share the plunder deposited. Secure from a surprise, they could plunder the neighbouring inhabitants, and compel them to pay tribute. Feasting, dancing, music, attracted recruits to the castle, and the bards sounded the praise of the noble and hospitable robber. The arm of beauty, descended from an Irish chieftain, graced his hand; and the advantage of hereditary property, by this union of alliance and seduction, enabled the robber to appropriate to himself the property of the clan.

Fitzgerald, after his return from Wales, pursued these methods of colonial policy. He and his associates proceeded to encroach upon the noble family of Mac Carty of Desmond. The desolation of war was the natural consequence. At the same time he fomented a war between O'Connor of Connaught and O'Donnell of Tirconnell.

During the deputyship of the son of Geoffry Maurice, the government of the Pale was at constant war with the king of Tirconnell; nor could he be subdued without the auxiliary forces of other Irish chieftains. Neither did the west of Ireland long continue to enjoy the promised benefits of England's protection; for, as if the English made treaties only to break them, Walter de Burgo, on some pretence or other, found the means of driving Phelim from his territory.

But O'Connor had the spirit to measure swords with the invader, put him and his forces to flight, and retook possession of his patrimony.

After laying waste a great part of the north and south, Maurice Fitz-Gerald, always obnoxious to the king, for his supposed infidelity in delaying the succours for the Welsh war, was deposed, 1245, and John Fitz-Geoffry was appointed deputy.

Still numerous religious foundations continued to be made, as mentioned in the annals; nor did plunder or rapine cease, in the distracted and troubled state of the country. The Fitz-Geralds founded a convent of Dominicans in the county of Kerry; the founder and his sons, slain by Mac Carty, were interred therein.

A phenomenon is recorded by the annalists, which rarely happens in these islands. An earthquake, 1247, infected the air, and communicated some unwholesome qualities to it. This was followed by a stormy winter, cold and damp, which, lasting till the month of July, made people apprehensive for the produce of the earth.

Henry III. desiring to marry his son Edward, gave him the sovereignty of his part of Ireland, Gascony, and Wales; after which he sent him to Spain, where he espoused Eleanor, sister of king Alphonso, and came back laden with riches.

Contention was not confined to the different nations in Ireland. Ecclesiastics too had their differences. A hot dispute continued between the archbishops of Dublin and Armagh for pre-

cedency. A similar ambition agitated the cathedrals of Christ Church and St. Patrick. To adjust their difference, the archbishop ordained that the election for the see of Dublin should always take place in Christ-church; and that the dean and chapter should, jointly with the prior and monks, have the right of suffrage. At the next election they united their suffrages in favor of Randolph of Norwich, a canon of St. Patrick's church; but, though he was of English descent, an English native, Fulk, treasurer of St. Paul's, London, was preferred at Rome before him, and appointed to the see.

Notwithstanding the long continuance of tragic scenes, in a land violently torn by all the horrors of anarchy and oppression, some traces of erudition are still observable. Joannes de Sacro Bosco has been claimed for Ireland, by Ware, Harris, and Geoghegan. He was esteemed the best mathematician of his time. He wrote a treatise on the sphere, on the calculation of the ecclesiastical year, a breviary of law, &c. He died at Paris, in 1256, where he was long an applauded professor. Florence Mac Flin, chancellor of the church of Tuam, mentioned in the annals as a learned man, is chiefly admired for his knowledge of canon law.

Fitz-Geoffry, who succeeded in the government of the settlers, was soon followed by Zouch, who made no long stay, but, returning to England, was appointed justiciary there. In his violent end we find proof, that turbulence was not confined to this country. Some English noblemen

having altercations about the limits and titles of their estates, the king determined to call a court at Westminster, to terminate their disputes. There Zouch, as justiciary, demanded of earl Warren the titles of his estate. Upon which he drew his sword, replying, “ Behold the title by which my ancestors got them, and by the same I mean to hold them.” On which he run him through the body.

The earl of Salisbury, called Stephen Longsword, succeeded Zouch, as deputy to the lord of Ireland. He carried on war with O’Neil and other northern chieftains. They came to battle at Down, where a great number perished on both sides, without decisive advantage to either party. He died two years after, and, in 1260, was succeeded by William Den, who found the south in flames. The Mac Cartys were making energetic reprisals on the insatiable cruel guests planted in their territories. They became so formidable, that their enemies durst not peep out of their strongholds. At the battle of Callan they slew a great number: the principal of whom were John Fitz-Thomas, founder of the monastery of Tralee, Maurice his son, eight barons, and fifteen knights. The English owed their safety to the usual bane of the Irish. Discord and civil war broke out among the Mac Cartys, O’Driscols, O’Donovans, Mac Mahons, and other clans, inhabiting Muskerry, which so enfeebled them, that they could not make head against the common enemy.

Thomas Hibernicus, a native of Palmer’s-town,

in the county of Kildare, had considerable reputation for learning at this period. He was the author of several tracts, viz. *Flores Doctorum*, or elegant extracts from the most celebrated doctors of philosophy and theology. It was printed in Paris, 1664. A treatise on Religion, on Virtue and Vice, *Flowers of the Bible*, &c. The *Annals of Multifernam* close about this time, (1274). Gelasius Mac Firbis, an historian and poet of some celebrity, lived in this century. He left a chronicle of his own times, and some poems.

It is surprising that the incessant din of arms did not entirely banish the Muses from this ill-fated island. But it seems the person of a bard was held more sacred than that of a priest. The English settlers frequently plundered and massacred the clergy; while we find few or no instances of similar cruelty exercised on the children of the Muses. In addition to the high respect entertained for their profession, ambition was interested in their protection. They were, in a great measure, arbiters of fame; and the murder of one of their body would inflame the whole irritable race of poets and harpers, to consign to the execration of posterity the perpetrator.

Sensible that character forms one species of power, the chiefs of the settlers not only avoided insulting men, possessed of such influence on public opinion, but they kept pensioned bards, to sound and extend their credit. At his command they sounded the war song, inveighed against his enemies, extolled his success in collecting their spoils, and praised the munificence

with which he shared the fruits of victory among his followers. In the Book of Fermoy there remains a curious collection of such mercenary rhapsodies, composed by Roche's bards. In these times of anarchy they were generally employed as trumpeters of war; and served, by their melodious notes, and rapturous strains, to attract enthusiastic youth to the standard of a chief, and to inflame their ardour in the day of battle.

No sooner were the Geraldines enabled to breathe, on account of the civil wars of the native Desmonians, and assume their former consequence, than the enmity between them and the De Burgo's broke out anew. The alliances, lately made between those ambitious families, were incapable of allaying their mutual hatred. The miserable people, partly the tools, partly the victims, of their furious hostilities, were miserably ravaged. The insolence of the Geraldines went so far, as to arrest the king's deputy, Richard de Capell, who interposed his authority to put an end to their disturbance, and confine him to the castle of Dunamaes. An act of violence which even the Mac Cartys had scrupled to commit, quoth Leland. How blind is he that will not see! the murder of prisoners of war, or of guests, formed no part of antient Irish customs or manners. Among them the rights of hospitality were held so sacred, that even an enemy, putting himself under the protection of a clan, would be defended against pursuit, at the risk of their lives and fortunes. Thus it was, that the O'Moores of Leix refused to surrender

one of the Geraldines, who had put himself under their coimric, (protection,) in the reign of Henry VIII. To remedy the disorders occasioned by the conflicting ambition of the Geraldines and the Burkes, an assembly was held at Kilkenny; and the imprisoned deputy, together with some English lords imprisoned with him, were liberated at their requisition.

The king, informed of the distempered state of Ireland, and apprehending the decay of his power there, from the animosities and civil wars of the chief settlers, recalled Capell, and substituted David Barry. This active deputy employed the resources of the Anglo-Irish government, not neglecting Irish alliances, to bring the Geraldines to reason. He seized some of their castles, and employed every means to keep them within bounds, and prevent such another insult to the royal authority as the seizure of his deputy.

Meanwhile Walter Burke, encouraged by the interposition of royal authority, which relieved him from the superiority of the Geraldines, set no bounds to his encroachments in Connaught, in defiance of the rights of the prince of that country, acknowledged to him by royal charter, as a tributary. Hugh O'Connor, son of Phelim, rose in his own defence, which was represented as an open rebellion against his liege lord, Henry. But Burke was defeated with great slaughter; nor did he long survive his disgrace.

The Annals of Innisfallen relate numerous instances of similar encroachments, made by the settlers on the property of the natives, in different

parts of the kingdom; which were followed by their usual concomitants, a scarcity bordering on famine, and great mortality.

Besides the advantages already mentioned, which the settlers possessed over the natives, in these conflicts of opposite interests; such as castles, for the reception and security of plunder, and of their plundering Irish allies, whom mirth, song, and feast, enticed to the destruction of their country, there were other powerful causes of superiority. The one had a centre of union and subordination, and a factious spirit of national pride and combination; the other were enthusiastic for the honor of their particular clans, but, entertaining hereditary enmity towards each other, they were utterly divested of national patriotism. These local prejudices, surviving their causes, continue to this day.

Still the chivalrous spirit of the ancient Irish was not as yet broken. Notwithstanding the anarchy, domestic feuds, and hereditary hostilities, that distracted and desolated the country, here and there an heroic chief, at the head of his clan, became formidable to the oppressors. The latter knew too well the means of ridding themselves of a dangerous native. If they found him too hard for them in the field of battle, a convivial murder, the dagger of an assassin, or division, delivered from embarrassment.

In 1270, the Irish natives made some severe reprisals on the settlers, but were afterwards tranquillized by David Barry, the deputy, after the English fashion.

The historians of the pale, and libellers of the ancient Irish, ridiculously calling their partial and malevolent compilations, histories of Ireland, dwell largely on the extortions of the Pope, and the king of England. “ At this time a fifteenth of all cathedrals, churches, and religious houses, and a sixteenth of all other ecclesiastical revenues, were demanded by the king, with the concurrence of the Pope. Here the wretched laity were stripped, even of their very necessities, and the churches of all their ornaments, to supply the rapacious demands of legates and nuncios.”*

The pale historian ought to have remarked, that these oppressive tributes were confined to the popish limits of English jurisdiction, and were effectually resisted by the native catholics, who acknowledged no superior in temporals. The king of England, and the Irish settlers, were equally interested to cultivate their alliance with the court of Rome, and, consequently, to tolerate its extortions. The native Irish, sensible of the injurious abuse of the Pope’s spiritual authority to their disadvantage, were less than ever inclined to pay him tribute. The writers of the pale observe, that the king of England endeavoured to restrain, within some limits, the rapacious demands of foreign ecclesiastics, and published an ordinance, that no legate should pass into Ireland without a royal licence. But it was not merely to spare the natives or settlers, that this politic precaution was used. By this check,

* Ireland, Vol. I. Book II. c. i. p. 233. Dub. ed. 4to 1773.

the legate would be obliged to share his acquisitions, or at least engage on oath not to make any representations of the real state of Ireland at Rome; such as might, notwithstanding the subsidy, be prejudicial to the English interest, to which truth, religion and conscience were always sacrificed. Leland dwells with some severity, and a mixture of truth, on the sufferings of the Irish clergy from these foreigners. “ The boldest remonstrances were made to the king, against the scandalous abuse of investing proud and luxurious foreigners with the dignities and revenues of the Irish church, who contemptuously refused to engage in the duties of their function, or to reside in the country which they pillaged with their extortions . . . but the clergy had not only the partialities of the Pope, but those of Henry himself to contend with. The neglected, the worthless, or the depressed, among their English brethren, sought refuge in the church of Ireland, to the utter mortification and discontent of the whole body of ecclesiastics, both of the Irish and of the English race, who regarded them as aliens, and deemed the invasion of their own rights equally oppressive, whether Italy or England furnished this series of emigrants. Though forced to submit to the royal authority, strengthened by that of the Pope, they yet determined to exert all the power they had left, against the invasions of this strange clergy.”* He forgot to remark, that these ecclesiastical

* Leland, Vol. I. Book II. c. i. p. 233, 234.

usurpations were confined within the limits of English influence. The Irish princes, who as yet retained their independence, scornfully rejected such encroachments as unchristian.

Yet even the clergy of English descent were so spirited in their opposition to these intruders, that the king was obliged to appeal to the Pope. The Pontiff, in compliance with the requisition of his ally and tributary, threatened to fulminate the thunders of the Vatican against the daring colonists, who presumed to dispute his own and the king's right, to dispose of benefices to whomsoever they chose, whether English or Italian. The same partial writer, in his further remarks on the ecclesiastics of the settlers, confounds and misleads his readers, by not clearly expressing the distinction between the clergy of the colony and those of the Irish nation. "The clergy," he says, "were indefatigable in their encroachments on the civil power."* Who would not imagine that the national clergy were meant here; but, in the very next page, it appears clearly, that they were only those of English descent, who were copying the popery of their English brethren. "An application was made to the king's courts in England, to decide on this point, (the case of bastardy;) the statute of Merton was therefore transmitted to Ireland for the direction of the king's subjects."† The national clergy had nothing to do with the king's English courts, the king's common law, or the

* Leland, Vol. I. B. II. ch. i. p. 235. † Ibid, p. 236.

statute of Merton, but were guided by the Brehon and canon laws.

The same writer proves, in another instance, the difficulty of subduing inbred prejudice. "The Irish clergy were possessed with exalted ideas of the dignity and glory of their own church,"* (and the whole Christian world agreed with them in this.) Good reader, would you not fancy, that the following record of clerical tyranny applied to the national clergy? especially when the historian of the colony endeavours to persuade, by an inuendo, "but what were the manners, at least of some among them... we learn from the curious petition of a widow, in the reign of Edward I."* This petition, thus introduced, to blacken the character of the Irish clergy, is as follows.

"Margaret le Blunde, of Cashel, petitions our lord the king's grace, that she may have her inheritance, which she recovered at Clonmell before the king's judges, &c. against David Macmackerwayt, bishop of Cashel.

"Item, the said Margaret petitions redress on account that her father was killed by the said bishop.

"Item, for the imprisonment of her grandfather and mother, whom he shut up and detained in prison till they perished by famine, because they attempted to seek redress for the death of their son, father of your petitioner, who had been killed by the said bishop. Item, for the

* Leland, Vol. I. B. II. c. i. p. 234. note.

death of her six brothers and sisters, who were starved to death by the said bishop, because he had their inheritance in his hands at the time he killed their father.

“ And it is to be noted, that the said bishop had built an abbey in the city of Cashel, on the king’s lands granted for this purpose, which he hath filled with robbers, who murder the English, and depopulate the country; and that when the council of our lord the king attempts to take cognizance of the offence, he fulminates the sentence of excommunication against them.

“ It is to be noted also, that the aforesaid Margaret has five times crossed the Irish sea. Wherefore she petitions for God’s sake, that the king’s grace will have compassion, and that she may be permitted to take possession of her inheritance.

“ It is further to be noted, that the aforesaid bishop hath been guilty of the death of many other Englishmen besides that of her father.

“ And that the aforesaid Margaret hath many times obtained writs of our lord the king, but to no effect, by reason of the influence and bribery of the said bishop.

“ She further petitions, for God’s sake, that she may have costs and damages, &c.”

“ What a prelate was this, even supposing the allegations aggravated!” says Leland. But was this Macmackerwayt one of the national clergy? Does the epithet macmac prove the felonious bishop to be of Milesian extraction? Many of the settlers assumed the title of mac; such as

Mac William, Mac Morris. 2dly. None of the natives assumed the surname of macmac, i. e. the son of the son; because instead of that it would be ô. E. g. When any one adopted a surname from the name of his father, then it would be joined to mac, son in English, as Mac Neil, Neilson, Mac Sean, Johnson; but when he took it from his grandfather, or any remoter ancestor, the ô was added, simply denoting descent, as de in French, and von in German, but never macmac, except applied to a recent settler, who was not of the clan.

It is not difficult to perceive, that this sample of ecclesiastical barbarity, industriously published, and fraudulently interpreted, to tarnish the glory of the island of saints, really belonged to the degenerate English: an obscure adventurer, indigent and unprincipled, as most of them are depicted, by English and Anglo-Irish writers, settled in Tipperary. Fairwood was of that description, now generally transported to the southern hemisphere, when they can escape the gallows. As he neither cared to tell, nor the Irish to know, any thing of his pedigree, his grandson was known by the name of Macmac, more correctly Macmicerwayt, i. e. the son of the son of Fairwood. Making allowance for the imperfection of writing from the ear, and that by a d from people not masters of the language, of which we have numerous proofs, in the mangling of Irish words in English records, it is rather surprising that the name was so preserved as to be intelligible. A demonstrative proof, that

the reverend culprit was none of the native clergy, is contained in the very act of petitioning the king of England. This proves that the bishop lived under the jurisdiction of English kings; otherwise we know, that Cork, Limerick, Cashel, &c. were among their earliest acquisitions in Ireland. Consequently, agreeably to the invariable policy of popish England, a native of England, Normandy, or at worst, a settler, was nominated to the see. We had, beside this fellow, many foul specimens of these civilizing villains, as O'Molloy, bishop of Ferns, remarked, in his discourse in Christ-church, before the clergy of Leinster, from the neighbouring island. Ader-ton, bishop of Waterford, hanged for bestiality and sodomy, perhaps was the most disgraceful of the pretended civilizers of the mart of science and sanctity.

Leland gives many instances of what he sets forth as clerical tyranny. The archbishop of Dublin excommunicated Stephen Longespee, or Longsword, with all his train. He fulminated the same sentence against the magistrates and citizens of Dublin, for opposing his exactions, known by the title, “ oblations of the faithful.” In vain they applied to the deputy for protection. He, and the cardinal legate, Ottobon, were instructed by their masters, who shared the booty levied on the Irish clergy within Henry’s jurisdiction, to allow them to become the collectors, and raise it on the laity. Accordingly the city of Dublin was compelled to compound the matter.

The death of Henry III. and the succession

of Edward I. to the throne of England, made no material alteration in the state of Ireland. The new king found sufficient employment for his talents in England, and on the Continent; leaving his Irish subjects, tributaries, and the independent clans, stiled by the settlers, “ Irish enemies,” to their long accustomed broils.

The melancholy picture of a magnanimous people, perishing piecemeal, in the convulsions of anarchy, exacerbated by hereditary feuds, is hardly relieved by any incident of novelty, or of consolation, to the heart-feelings of humanity. Edward, at his accession, in a letter to his deputy, Maurice Fitz-Maurice, made a specious promise of his protection to all his Irish subjects; but his attention was so much directed to weightier affairs, that he did not live to realize his professions. Indeed his subjects in Ireland were more deserving of coercion than protection. Their insatiable encroachments on, and treacherous dealings with the natives, sometimes provoked the resentment of a spirited and warlike people. The O'Moores of Leix, (King's county,) and the O'Connors of Ophaly, (Queen's county,) flew to arms, repelled the aggressors, demolished their castles, defeated the king's deputy, took him prisoner, and confined him in Ophaly. The victors retaliated on the pale the depredations committed on their own territories; and the next deputy, Glenvill, attempting to oppose them, experienced a signal defeat.

Maurice Fitz-Maurice, as soon as liberated from prison, was the author of new troubles in

Munster. Emboldened by his alliance with the duke of Gloucester's son, Thomas de Clare, married to his daughter, and encouraged to wrest lands from the O'Briens, by the promise of a reinforcement from England, under the command of his son-in-law, in conjunction with Theobald Butler, he made war on that princely family. De Clare soon arrived from England, with a royal grant of the best of their patrimony, and a considerable train of followers, to support his claim. In vain the chieftain exclaimed against the injustice of such lawless grants, made by a man, who had no juster title to Thomond than he had to the empire of China. In vain he appealed to the treaties, by which the kings of England guaranteed to his family their principality, laws, rights, and privileges, as held by him before the adventurers arrived. The grantee would hearken to no reasoning on the merits of his claim, but referred to the motto of the O'Briens, "Laiv laidir an uatar, The strong hand uppermost." The latter accepted the challenge; but a seasonable assassination of their chieftain lost them a battle. The warlike sons of O'Brien resolved to avenge the insult offered to their tribe, and the death of their father, carried on the war with energy and success. The Geraldines were totally overthrown; and the remnant, with the grantee and his father-in-law, were driven into an inaccessible mountain, where, blocked up, and reduced to famine, they were obliged to capitulate, and acknowledge the O'Briens kings of Thomond. Hostages were

given for the eric, or satisfaction, demanded for the death of their late chieftain, according to Irish custom; and the castle of Roscommon, lately built, and strongly fortified, was surrendered to the victorious enemy.”* Oh the blind partiality of these Pale writers! In the same page he says, “as the Irish alledge,” but quotes no authority, that O’Brien fell by the treachery of his own people. Undoubtedly, ruffians could be found in Ireland, as well as in other countries, capable of any enormity for a bribe; but it was not the instrument, but the principals and employers, that the Thomonians pursued for eric. It was in the temper of indigent libertines, described as such by their own country writers, come to prey on an opulent divided people, to scruple no means of wresting their property. These instances are sufficient to give an idea of the state of the island in general; the Irish natives being there most wretched, where the power of the settlers was strongest.

The incessant sufferings of the Milesians, in several parts of Leinster; the insecurity of their lives and properties, harrassed and hunted from every quarter, without protection from law or government, determined them to petition king Edward, to be admitted as his subjects, and be protected by his law. This petition, “wringed from a people tortured by the painful feelings of oppression,”† proves only their deplorable situation, not a decided preference to the Eng-

* *Ireland*, Vol. I. B. II. ch. ii. p. 244. † *Ibid*, p. 243.

lish law over their own ancient laws and constitution, under which the monarchy long flourished. The motives of this application are thus stated by Sir John Davies, attorney-general to James I. "As longe as they [the Irish] were out of the protection of the lawe, so as evrie Englishman might oppresse, spoile, and kille them without controulment, howe was it possible they shoulde be other than outlawes and enemies to the crowne of England? If the king woulde not admit them to the condition of subjects, howe coulde they learne to acknowledge and obey him as their sovereigne? When they might not converse, or commerce with any civil man, nor enter into any towne or citty, without perrill of their lives, whither shoulde they flye but into the woodes and mountains, and there live in a wilde and barbarous manner? If the English magistrates woulde not rule them by the lawe which doth punish murder, and treason, and theft, with death, but leave them to be ruled by their own lords and lawes, why shoulde not they embrace their own Brehon lawe, which punisheth no offence but with a fine or ericke? If the Irish be not permitted to purchase estates of freeholds or inheritance, which might descende to their children, according to the course of our common lawe, must they not continue their custom of tanistrie, which makes all their possessions uncertaine, and brings confusion, barbarisme, and incivility? In a worde, if the English woulde neither in peace governe them by the lawe, nor in war roote them out by the sworde, must they not needes be

prickes in their eyes, and thornes in their sides, till the world's ende?"* Through deputy Ufford they offered 8000 marks to the king, provided he would grant the free enjoyment of the English laws to the whole body of Irish inhabitants; the first instance, perhaps, recorded in history, of any people offering a bribe to a foreign king to receive them as his subjects. Here follows Edward's answer to this memorable petition:

“ Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, to our trusty and well beloved Robert de Ufford, justiciary of Ireland, greeting.

“ THE improvement of the state, and peace of our land of Ireland, signified to us by your letter, gives us exceeding joy and pleasure. We entirely commend your diligence in this matter, hoping, (by the divine assistance,) that the things there began so happily by you, shall, as far as in you lieth, be still further prosecuted with the greater vigour and success.

“ And whereas the community of Ireland hath made a tender to us of 8000 marks, on condition that we grant to them the laws of England, to be used in the aforesaid land, we will you to know, that, inasmuch as the laws used by the Irish are hateful to God, and repugnant to all justice, and having held diligent conference, and full deliberation with our council on this mat-

* Davies's Discovery.

ter, it seems sufficiently expedient to us and to our council, to grant to them the English laws; provided always that the general consent of our people, or at least of the prelates and nobles of that land, well affected to us, shall uniformly concur in this behalf.

“ We therefore command you, that having entered into treaty with these Irish people, and examined diligently into the wills of our commons, prelates, and nobles, well affected to us in this behalf, and having agreed between you and them on the highest fine of money that you can obtain, to be paid to us on this account, you do, with the consent of all, at least of the greater and sounder part aforesaid, make such a composition with the said people, in the premises, as you shall judge in your diligence to be most expedient for our honour and interest. Provided however, that these people should hold in readiness a body of good and stout footmen, amounting to such a number as you shall agree upon with them for one turn only, to repair to us when we shall think fit to demand them.”

In this answer, the king's cautious policy, whether he should at all admit the old natives to the rank of subjects is plain. Referring the petition to the decision of the settlers, whose object was to exterminate the old proprietors, and seize on their properties for themselves, was, in fact, to reject it. As well might catholic emancipation be referred to the vote of protestant ascendancy. In the improbable event, that the

popish oppressors should consent to the emancipation of Milesian catholics, he, it seems, not satisfied with the offer of 8000 marks, recommends a hard bargain to be made with them, "the highest fine of money that you can obtain;" "provided however, that these people should hold in readiness a body of good and stout footmen, &c." His majesty of England, it seems, was unacquainted with the temper and policy of his liege-men of his land of Ireland, the pale, or he would have never indulged the chimerical notion, that they would surrender the victims of their daily oppression, their destined prey, to become the instruments of his avarice and ambition. Under various pretences, the objects of the petition were eluded; and this by prelates and barons calling themselves catholics.

Two years afterwards, the cry of oppression reached the ears of the sovereign from the same quarter. The petition of emancipation from the tyranny of English descended papists, was again presented by old native catholics, anno 1280. This petition met the fate of its predecessor, because referred, like it, to the consideration of the colonists. What must have been the feelings of these unhappy men, visibly marked out for slaughter. They would not be allowed as fellow subjects, by the barbarous papists of the pale, both clergy and laity, who eyed them and their patrimony, with the feelings and eyes of a butcher marking out sheep for the knife! Notwithstanding the fines and services they repeatedly professed for legal protection, every Englishman

might kill and plunder a native. If, perchance, summoned to a court of justice, he obtained perfect impunity, by swearing that he killed only a mere native Irishman. If the murdered person was a man of rank, the assassin was even applauded and rewarded!

These were not the sole misfortunes of the natives. The foreign wolves, after sating their voracity with their spoils and blood, involved them also in their wars with each other, ravaging and slaying without mercy. The native Irish formed the main bulk of their forces; and these were placed in every post of danger.

Besides those already mentioned, they found another mode of recruiting, from those they treated as Irish enemies. While they lulled the neighbouring tribes, by the mockery of treaties of alliance, never meant to be kept, they made a sudden irruption upon some district, marked out as a prey; and, overpowering it, they built a castle, compelling all they condescended not to kill, to work at the building. Thither they conveyed all the provision they chose, together with the best connected and handsomest young women, to be married to some of their followers. These they employed, like the Sabine women, to entice their relatives to enlist under the banners of the new bashaw, who knew how to reward military merit; to exchange famine for plenty; and the scanty and precarious tenure of gavel-kind, for the security and splendor of hereditary estates. Thus the country falling to ruin on every side, and policy dictating something to be saved from

the common wreck for themselves and families, multitudes were forced or seduced, by fraud and violence, to enlist with the destroyers; besides numbers, who volunteered with them for a promised share of plunder. Another source of booty and aggrandizement, was the facility of exciting clans, embittered with hereditary feuds, to make war on each other; sometimes joining one side, sometimes another, untill both were enfeebled and subdued. So easy it was to kindle such petty wars, that the parliament of the Pale passed an act, in the tenth year of Henry VII. forbidding any liege-man, under pain of treason, to excite the Irishry to war against the Pale, or the king's deputy.

The elective form of the petty sovereignties, especially since the downfall of the monarchy and constitution, opened a wide field of constantly recurring opportunities, to the phlegmatic calculating ambition and avarice of the invaders. On such occasions they used every art, to inflame the contest of an election into a civil war among the clan and their followers. These being the most cruel of wars, they were sure to be called in, to the aid of the weaker party, on their own terms. If their allies succeeded, lands, matrimonial alliance with the triumphant chief, and castles for their security, rewarded their services, untill they gradually became greater than the chieftain of the territory. If beaten, as sometimes happened, still it was a splendid though bloody lottery for adventuring speculation; and the next contested election of a chief would re-

pair their losses, and amply reward their undermining toils.

By such arts, profiting of the confusion and anarchy of the country, the Fitz-Geralds, Burkes, Butlers, Eustaces, Lacys, &c. became great lords, allied in blood, and ranking with the greatest Irish chieftains. So De Clare, notwithstanding his defeat, and humiliating treaty, and the payment of an eric for the murder of O'Brien Roe, became a great man once more. His remittances from England enabled him to interfere with effect, in the disputed succession to the chieftainry of Thomond. His ally was acknowledged by the majority of the electors. His rival, indignant at English interference, and supported by a powerful party, was preparing to wage a bloody war against the new chieftain, when the amicable interposition of Mac Carty, chieftain of Desmond, assuaged the fury of his countrymen. "He entreated them to consider, that they were arming against their own brethren, preparing to depopulate their lands, blowing up the flame of civil dissension, which had already wasted their unhappy country. That they had a common enemy, industriously fomenting, and taking advantage of their disorder, to subdue them by their own weapons. That their interest, and that of all their countrymen, called loudly on them to compose their private differences, and wait, with patience, some favourable opportunity to recover their lost rights." His mediation was successful.

I see no immediate reason, but this charitable

good office to his deluded countrymen, that made Leland, the Pale historian, say, "The Mac Cartys, ever implacable enemies to the English, proceeding with a dark and determined rancour." I see no dark rancour in this mediation. But, if they were really animated with implacable enmity to their inhuman invaders, it only proved they were men endowed with human feelings. If the bare recital of their deeds of treachery and blood, fills every humane breast now with horror, how must the sufferers and spectators in the tragic scene have felt? Unfortunately for the Milesian race, they felt not an adequate degree of abhorrence for their systematic destroyers, capable of suspending for some time their hereditary animosities, to save themselves from the ruin decreed for them.

The English were not the only enemies the Irish had to fear; they had more to apprehend from their own intestine divisions. O'Connor, prince of Connaught, and Mac Dermot of Mogleurg, took the field against each other; waging a cruel and desolating war, perhaps at the instigation, certainly to the great delight, and for the profit of their enemies. O'Connor was among the number of the slain. Some time before, O'Hanlon, at the instigation of Ralph Peppard, was at war with O'Neil. Meanwhile O'Connor Falie was murdered by Jordan Comin; and his brother Charles was assassinated, by Pierce Butler, at Carrick. What a misfortune, in them days, for a native Irishman to be a large proprietor. The O'Connors were, from the remotest

antiquity, in possession of lands, seized by these foreign usurpers. They must be cut off. O'Cochlan was more fortunate, for he totally defeated William Bourke, with his followers, at Delvin, his ancient patrimony,

Ireland might justly be compared with Rebecca, bearing in her womb the struggling infants, Esau and Jacob. Two hostile races now tore the country to pieces between them; but the ancient, by far the more numerous and powerful in physical force, were lacerated by their conflicts with each other, still more than by the weapons of those who avowedly laboured for their extermination on system. Ravages, bloodshed, and desolation disfigured the face of the country, still the rage for building convents did not cease. A long list of these may be found with Geoghagan and the annalists.

During the successive administration of the Pale, by three deputies, the scene continued nearly the same, agitation and turbulence. The monotonous tale of Ireland's misfortunes, may be a little diversified by the narrative of a quarrel between two of the principal settlers, which may amuse the reader, like a farce after a tragedy. During Vescy's administration, there were violent disputes between him and John Fitzgerald, son of the baron of Ophaly. According to Hollingshed's Chronicle, they proceeded to the most scurrilous invectives, and the vilest Billingsgate. In an assembly where they met, they mutually reproached each other with robbery, assassinations, extortions, &c. The baron having

made some reflections on the birth of the governor, the latter replied, that the Vescys were noble before the Fitzgeralds were barons of Ophaly, even before your bankrupt forefather made his fortune in Leinster, (alluding to the head of that family, who accompanied Strongbow to Ireland). The quarrel did not stop in Ireland. They went to England to plead their cause before the king and court. The presence of his majesty could not silence their invectives nor reproaches. Perhaps this stile of conversation was at that time fashionable among the civilizers of Ireland. Fitzgerald, weary of disputing, challenged his antagonist to single combat, which was highly diverting to the court in those chivalrous times. According to some English writers, Vescy, shunning the combat, fled to France; according to others, it was Fitzgerald declined it. However that may be, Fitzgerald was put in possession of the lands and castles of Vescy; in Kildare and Rathangain. From him are descended the Fitzgeralds of Kildare, who shortly afterwards got the title of earl of Kildare, and latterly duke of Leinster.

Amidst all this turbulence, and clash of arms, ravaging the country, some examples remain, proving that Irish literature was, though thwarted and interrupted, not quenched. In 1303, died Nicholas Mac Molisse, archbishop of Armagh, celebrated for his eloquence, his wisdom, and zeal for religion. That the Milesian influence was on the wane, and the English interest beginning to predominate, even in church

matters, is proved by the name of his successor in the see of Armagh, John Taaffe, sprung from the settlers of the county of Louth.

There is an anecdote related of Edward I. in *Baker's Chronicle*, which, though not directly connected with Irish affairs, may serve to throw light on the character of those who pretended to civilize Ireland. The Welsh, driven from England into the mountains of Wales, by their perfidious allies, the Saxons, maintained their independence untill the eleventh century, when they were subdued, and their king, Ap Rees, (Rice,) was massacred. The remembrance of their former liberty, and the tyranny of their new masters, caused some revolts; but the superior power of England, in its immediate vicinage, always succeeded to quell them. It was reserved for Edward to exhibit a barbarous example of civilization to the world. He made war on Llewellyn, prince of Wales, who, was betrayed to a soldier, who cut off his head, and sent it to Edward, in London, where, by his orders, it was fixed on a spike of the Tower. His brother, David, shortly after fell into the hands of the English. They tied him to a horse's tail, and dragged him through the streets of Shrewsbury; then they cut out his bowels, and threw them into a fire prepared for the purpose; his head was fixed near his brother's, on the Tower; they cut him into four parts, and hung up a quarter in four towns, viz. Bristol, Northampton, York, and Winchester.

This was an authentic declaration that David

Llewellyn was a hero and a patriot, who often pressed hard on his enemies in defence of his country's rights. It is likewise an incontrovertible proof, that the English did not degenerate from the civilizing methods, practised by their ancestors, the Saxons, on the Britons, who invited them as allies; nor from those of their other progenitors, the Normans, exercised on the Anglo-Saxon race afterwards. How can the impudent lying scribblers of the Pale pretend, that the unprincipled indigent marauders, described as such by cotemporary and copatriot writers, coming here for blood and booty, learned to commit atrocities in this country? An Irish war was carried on with all the principles of chivalrous honour; they sought not extermination, but subjection, as the Roman poet says, "to spare the submissive, and to subdue the proud." One battle generally finished hostilities, and the victor, not tutored to kill prisoners of war, was content with hostages and tribute.

After thus annexing the principality of Wales to his dominions, Edward turned his ambitious views toward Scotland. That kingdom, after the death of Alexander III. without issue, was rent by factions, supporting different pretenders to the crown. Of these, Baliol and Bruce were the most eminent; the one nearer to the royal family in blood, the other in higher estimation. To profit of these divisions, he took a journey to Scotland; and first addressing himself to Bruce, offered to place him on the throne of Scotland, on condition he would swear fealty to

him, as his liege-lord. The answer of Bruce was worthy of his talents and patriotism. "I shall not sacrifice my country's rights to the ambition of reigning." He next applied to Baliol, who, less punctilious, accepted the conditions, was crowned king of Scotland, at Scone, and swore homage to Edward, at Newcastle. His retractation afterwards kindled a fierce war between the two nations, which was renewed, after different intervals of a truce, rather than a peace, during three hundred years, and was only terminated by the union of the two crowns in James, the First of England, and Sixth of Scotland.

During the thirteenth century flourished the celebrated John Dun Scotus, called the subtle doctor. He wrote many works of philosophy and theology, with much penetration and subtlety. Eight folio volumes of his works are extant in print; but, though formerly in vogue in the schools, they are now read by few. He died suddenly at Cologne, where he was interred. His order, the Franciscans, presented him before the holy college, as probably a fit subject for canonization. The process went on, after the usual cautious circumspection of that court. After the accustomed evidences of sanctity of life, miracles are laid before them, attested on oath by creditable witnesses; a lawyer is appointed to discuss the several articles, and cross-examine the witnesses. The process went on to the stage of beatification; sanctification was the very next step. The rival order of St. Dominic

took the alarm. They dreaded to see the great rival of their sainted doctor, Thomas, rank with him in the schools. They remembered, with bitter resentment, the victory he gained over them, in the famous dispute about the immaculate conception; and they moved heaven and earth to avert his canonization. They dug up his grave, in Cologne, opened his coffin, attested on oath before the college, that they found him turned therein, lacerated by the nails, and with an appearance of having bit his arm. This put an end to the process; and John Dun, the Irish Scot, remains excluded from the catalogue of saints. The title to all the printed copies of his works, taken from his own manuscript, ought to silence the contest between three nations about his birth, “Johannes Dun, Scotus Hibernus.”

Edward II. the second son of the deceased king, succeeded to the throne, and shortly after married Isabelle, daughter of Philip le Bel, of France. He recalled his favourite, Gaveston, whom his father had banished the kingdom. This nobleman had so far gained on the king's affection, that he disposed of all favours and graces, which drew upon him the envy and hatred of the English nobility, who threatened to oppose his coronation, if he did not expel his favourite from the kingdom. The weak king consented; but, in order to soften the disgrace, sent him to Ireland, invested with the royal authority, where he suppressed some revolts, and laboured effectually to secure the possessions of

the settlers in Leinster. The king, unable to bear the absence of his favourite, and flattering himself that time and distance had cooled the hatred of his enemies, recalled him from the government of the Pale, and sent Sir John Wogan to replace him. To establish his credit the more effectually, he had him married to the daughter of the earl of Gloucester. This alliance with one of the first families in the kingdom, served but to encrease the detestation of his enemies. Another incident decided his fall. At the tournaments of Wallingford, he bore away the prize from all the English lords who durst contend with him. Not satisfied with this triumph of his address and courage, he humbled their pride still more by piquing sallies of wit and raillery, than by his victory in feats of arms. They all conspired against him, made lively remonstrances to the king, intimating, that nothing short of the sacrifice of his favourite could appease their resentments. Gaveston, yielding to the storm, passed over to France; but the desire of seeing again his dear master, dragged him into England once more, at the risk of his life. There he remained some time incog. To secrete him from the fury of his enemies, the king assigned, for residence, the castle of Scarborough, as a secure asylum; but he was soon besieged there, by a revolted nobility, and obliged to capitulate, on condition of saving his life. This treaty was not long kept. The earl of Warwick dragged him from his keepers, and cut off his head, without form of law, notwithstanding the reiterated en-

treaties of the king. Such was the end of Gaveston, one of the handsomest and most accomplished men of his age, native of Gascony. Royal favour has often proved a dangerous honor.

During the feeble administration of deputy Wogan, a contention between the prelates of Armagh and Dublin, whether their croziers should be borne before them, in certain districts, erect or depressed, was treated as an important state affair. The contest occasioned some bloodshed; and the king's mediation was necessary, to settle the controversy.

The great lords, taking advantage of despised government, carried on their wars without fear or controul. The bulk of their forces, always composed of old natives, were the victims of the folly or madness of their leaders. The earl of Ulster marched into Thomond, with all the pride of an independent sovereign, to assert some pretended rights with the sword; but was there humbled by a signal defeat. He was made prisoner, with several of his most distinguished adherents, and obliged to submit to such terms as his conquerors imposed. The accommodation was cemented by the marriage of Maurice and Thomas Fitz-John, the heads of the houses of Desmond and Kildare, to two daughters of the earl of Ulster.

This union between these powerful families seemed to promise some tranquillity, when new enemies were invited by the tyranny of the settlers, exercised over the ancient inhabitants. The

successful resistance of Scotland to the encroachments of England, was a grateful hearing to the distressed Milesians, who always regarded the Scots as kinsmen. Their many gallant exploits under Wallace, barbarously murdered by the English, and under young Bruce, the son of him who disdained the proffer of the crown on conditions dishonourable to his country, became the theme of Irish bards, rousing their countrymen to honor and glory. The news of the ever memorable and decisive victory of Bannockburn, where 30,000 brave Scots, under the command of the gallant Bruce, routed 100,000 English, commanded by the king in person, filled their Irish kinsmen with rapture. Mortified by a galling yoke, which, for want of union or concert, they were unable to shake off, they adopted, in all appearance, a very prudent resolution. As the provincial kings were too proud to bear a native superior, they could feel no humiliation in a young hero, of their own race, brother to the victorious king of Scotland, monarch of Ireland. As the northern chieftains lay most convenient for Scotland, they first sent ambassadors to Robert Bruce, then marching with his victorious forces through the north of England. They painted to him, in glowing colours, the unparalleled calamities inflicted on their country by insolent oppressive invaders. That they wanted but such a leader to rescue their whole nation from present distress and impending ruin. That they did not consider it a foreign yoke, to receive a sovereign from the Scots, descended from the

same stock as themselves; one who had courage to defend them, and equity to rule with justice. That the alliance of the two kingdoms would be of the utmost utility to each, whether in a commercial or political point of view; and that their united strength would form an impregnable rampart against the ambition of English kings. Robert Bruce was well pleased with the proffer. He was aware of the great supply of men and provisions, furnished by Ireland to Edward in his war against Scotland; and was too keen-sighted not to perceive the vast advantages of such an alliance, if the Irish nation, so long torn by intestine divisions, making havoc of each other in every corner of the kingdom, could be brought to support an efficient executive in the monarch. If the monarchy was held on the same precarious footing as heretofore, without revenue or forces, the alliance would rather be burdensome than beneficial to Scotland. On assurances given, that the monarchy would be supported with their lives and fortunes, and O'Neil, the only Irish prince entitled to the throne, setting the example, the Scottish king accepted the proposals. He urged his brother Edward, a valiant and aspiring youth, to accept the proffered diadem; assuring him of such effectual support, as would enable him, with the assistance of his new subjects, to bear down all opposition. The heroic youth naturally embraced the offer with ardor; the chiefs of Ulster were assured of his speedy arrival with a considerable force; and the news was received with joy throughout the pro-

vince. These negotiations thus divulged, the government of England, and their Irish party, were apprized of their danger, and prepared for defence. Richard, earl of Ulster, lords Edmond Butler and Theobald de Verdun, were summoned to the parliament in England, to treat with the king, his prelates and nobles, about the affairs of Ireland. They returned back next spring, instructed to deliver the result of their deliberations to the principal nobles, prelates, and magistrates. They had even the effrontery to present them to the Irish chieftains, of whose lives and fortunes they made daily havock, by treachery and violence, assassination and massacre, sowing division, and exciting hostilities among a too irritable race.

Among other measures, offensive and defensive, both parties applied to the Pope, whose thunders were as yet formidable. The king of England, with the confidence of an ally, and a firm stickler of popery, whose address derived additional weight, from the annual subsidy paid to St. Peter's successor. The Irish chieftains, being only catholics, divested of such claims to papal partiality, relied on the justice of their cause, and sent the following pathetic statement of their sufferings from unprincipled tyrants, to Pope John XXII.*

* See Plowden, Vol. I.—Geoghegan, T. II.—J. Fordun, Scoto-Chron. T. III. &c.

“ To the most holy father in Christ, Lord John, by the grace of God, his devoted children, Donald O’Neil, king of Ulster, and by hereditary right true heir of all Ireland, as also the chieftains, and nobles, and the people of Ireland, recommend themselves most humbly, &c. &c.

“ It is extremely painful to us, that the viperous detractions of slanderous Englishmen, and their iniquitous suggestions against the defenders of our rights, should exasperate your holiness against the Irish nation. But alas, you know us only by the misrepresentation of our enemies, and you are exposed to the danger of adopting the infamous falsehoods, which they propagate, without hearing any thing of the detestable cruelties they have committed against our ancestors, and continue to commit even to this day against ourselves. Heaven forbid, that your holiness should be thus misguided; and it is to protect our unfortunate people from such a calamity, that we have resolved here to give you a faithful account of the present state of our kingdom, if indeed a kingdom we can call the melancholy remains of a nation, that so long groans under the tyranny of the kings of England, and of their barons, some of whom, though born among us, continue to practise the same rapine and cruelties against us, which their ancestors did against ours heretofore. We shall speak nothing but the truth, and we hope, that your holiness will

not delay to inflict condign punishment on the authors and abettors of such inhuman calamities.

“ Know then, that our forefathers came from Spain, and our chief apostle, St. Patrick, sent by your predecessor, Pope Celestine, in the year of our Lord 435, did, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, most effectually teach us the truth of the Holy Roman Catholic faith, and that ever since that, our kings, well instructed in the faith that was preached to them, have, in number sixty-one, without any mixture of foreign blood, reigned in Ireland to the year 1170. And those kings were not Englishmen, nor of any other nation but our own, who with pious liberality bestowed ample endowments in lands, and many immunities on the Irish church, though in modern times our churches are most barbarously plundered by the English, by whom they are almost despoiled. And though those our kings, so long and so strenuously defended, against the tyrants and kings of different regions, the inheritance given them by God, preserving their innate liberty at all times inviolate; yet Adrian IV. your predecessor, an Englishman, more even by affection and prejudice than by birth, blinded by that affection, and the false suggestions of Henry II. king of England, under whom, and perhaps by whom, St. Thomas of Canterbury was murdered, gave the dominion of this our kingdom, by a certain form of words, to that same Henry II. whom he ought rather to have stript of his own, on account of the above crime.

“ Thus, omitting all legal and judicial order, and alas! his national prejudices and predilections blindfolding the discernment of the pontiff, without our being guilty of any crime, without any rational cause whatsoever, he gave us up to be mangled to pieces by the teeth of the most cruel and voracious of all monsters. And if sometimes, nearly flayed alive, we escape from the deadly bite of these treacherous and greedy wolves, it is but to descend into the miserable abysses of slavery, and to drag on the doleful remains of a life more terrible than death itself. Ever since those English appeared first upon our coasts, in virtue of the above surreptitious donation, they entered our territories, under a certain specious pretext of piety and external hypocritical shew of religion; endeavouring in the mean time, by every artifice malice could suggest, to extirpate us root and branch; and without any other right, than that of the strongest, they have so far succeeded, by base and fraudulent cunning, that they have forced us to quit our fair and ample habitations and paternal inheritances, and to take refuge, like wild beasts, in the mountains, the woods, and the morasses of the country; nor can even the caverns and dens protect us against their insatiable avarice. They pursue us even into these frightful abodes, endeavouring to dispossess us of the wild uncultivated rocks, and arrogating to themselves the property of every place, on which we can stamp the figure of our feet; and through an excess of the most profound ignorance, impudence, arro-

gance, or blind insanity scarce conceivable, they dare to assert, that not a single part of Ireland is ours, but by right entirely their own.

“ Hence the implacable animosities and exterminating carnage, which are perpetually carried on between us; hence our continual hostilities, our detestable treacheries, our bloody reprisals, our numberless massacres, in which, since their invasion to this day, more than 50,000 men have perished on both sides: not to speak of those, who died by famine, despair, the rigors of captivity, nightly marauding, and a thousand other disorders, which it is impossible to remedy, on account of the anarchy in which we live; an anarchy, which, alas! is tremendous, not only to the state, but also to the church of Ireland; the ministers of which are daily exposed, not only to the loss of the frail and transitory things of this world, but also to the loss of those solid and substantial blessings, which are eternal and immutable.

“ Let those few particulars, concerning our origin, and the deplorable state to which we have been reduced, by the above donation of Adrian IV., suffice for the present.

“ We have now to inform your holiness, that Henry, king of England, and the four kings his successors, have violated the conditions of the pontifical bull, by which they were empowered to invade this kingdom; for the said Henry promised, as appears by the said bull, to extend the patrimony of the Irish church, and to pay to the apostolical see, annually, one penny for each

house. Now this promise both he and his successors above-mentioned, and their iniquitous ministers, observed not at all with regard to Ireland. On the contrary, they have entirely and intentionally eluded them, and endeavoured to force the reverse.

“ As to the church lands, so far from extending them, they have confined them, retrenched them, and invaded them on all sides, insomuch that some cathedral churches have been, by open force, notoriously plundered of half their possessions. Nor have the persons of our clergy been more respected; for, in every part of the country, we find bishops and prelates cited, arrested, and imprisoned without distinction; and they are oppressed with such servile fear, by those frequent and unparalleled injuries, that they have not even the courage to represent to your holiness the sufferings they are so wantonly condemned to undergo. But since they are so cowardly, and so basely silent in their own cause, they deserve not that we should say a syllable in their favour. The English promised also to introduce a better code of laws, and enforce better morals, among the Irish people; but instead of this, they have so corrupted our morals, that the holy and dove-like simplicity of our nation is, on account of the flagitious example of those reprobates, changed into the malicious cunning of the serpent.

“ We had a written code of laws, according to which our nation was governed hitherto. They have deprived us of those laws, and of

every law except one, which it is impossible to wrest from us; and for the purpose of exterminating us, they have established other iniquitous laws, by which injustice and inhumanity are combined for our destruction. Some of which we here insert for your inspection, as being so many fundamental rules of English jurisprudence established in this kingdom.

“ Every man, not an Irishman, can, on any charge, however frivolous, prosecute an Irishman; but no Irishman, whether lay or ecclesiastic, (the prelates alone excepted,) can prosecute for any offence whatsoever, because he is an Irishman. If any Englishman should, as they often do, treacherously and perfidiously murder an Irishman, be he ever so noble or so innocent, whether lay or ecclesiastic, secular or regular, even though he should be a prelate, no satisfaction can be obtained from an English court of justice: on the contrary, the more worthy the murdered man was, and the more respected by his own countrymen, the more the murderer is rewarded and honoured, not only by the English rabble, but even by the English clergy and bishops; and especially by those, whose duty it is, chiefly, on account of their station in life, to correct such abominable malefactors. Every Irish woman, whether noble or ignoble, who marries an Englishman, is, after her husband's death, deprived of the third of her husband's lands and possessions, on account of her being an Irish woman. In like manner, whenever the English can violently oppress to death an Irish-

man, they will by no means permit him to make a will, or any disposal whatsoever of his affairs: on the contrary, they seize violently on all his property, deprive the church of its rights, and per force reduce to a servile condition, that blood which has been from all antiquity free.

“ The same tribunal of the English, by advice of the king of England, and some English bishops, among whom the ignorant and ill-conducted arch-bishop of Armagh was president, has made in the city of St. Kenniers, (Kilkenny,) the following absurd and informal statute: that no religious community in the English Pale, shall receive an Irishman as novice, under pain of being treated as contumacious contemnors of the king of England’s laws.—And as well before as after this law was enacted, it was scrupulously observed, by the English Dominicans, Franciscans, monks, canons, and all other religious orders of the English nation, who shewed a partiality in the choice of their religious subjects; the more odious, inasmuch as those monasteries were founded by Irishmen, from which Irishmen are so basely excluded by Englishmen in modern times. Besides, where they ought to have established virtue, they have done exactly the contrary; they have exterminated our native virtues, and established the most abominable vices in their stead.

“ For the English, who inhabit our island, and call themselves a middle nation, (between English and Irish) are so different in their morals from the English of England, and of all other

nations, that they can, with the greatest propriety, be stiled a nation, not of middling but of extreme perfidiousness. For it is of old, that they follow the abominable and nefarious custom, which is acquiring more inveteracy every day from habit; namely, when they invite a nobleman of our nation to dine with them, they, either in the midst of the entertainment, or in the unguarded hour of sleep, spill the blood of our unsuspecting countrymen, terminate their detestable feast with murder, and sell the heads of their guests to the enemy. Just as Peter Brumichame, who is since called the treacherous baron, did with Mauritius de S—— his fellow sponsor, and the said Mauritius' brother, Calnacus, men much esteemed for their talents and their honour among us. He invited them to an entertainment, on a feast day of the Holy Trinity; on that day, the instant they stood up from the table, he cruelly massacred them, with twenty-four of their followers, and sold their heads at a dear price to their enemies; and when he was arraigned before the king of England, the present king's father, no justice could be obtained against such a nefarious and treacherous offender. In like manner lord Thomas Clare, the duke of Gloucester's brother, invited to his house the most illustrious Brien Roe O'Brien of Thomond, his sponsor.—

“ All hope of peace between us is therefore completely destroyed; for such is their pride, such their excessive lust of dominion, and such our ardent ambition to shake off this insupport-

able yoke, and recover the inheritance which they have so unjustly usurped; that, as there never was, so there never will be any sincere coalition between them and us: nor is it possible there should in this life, for we entertain a certain natural enmity against each other, flowing from mutual malignity descending by inheritance from father to son, and spreading from generation to generation.

“ Let no person wonder then, if we endeavour to preserve our lives, and defend our liberties, as well as we can, against those cruel tyrants, usurpers of our just properties, and murderers of our persons; so far from thinking it unlawful, we hold it to be a meritorious act. Nor can we be accused of perjury or rebellion, since neither our fathers or we, did at any time bind ourselves by any oath of allegiance to their fathers or to them; and, therefore, without the least remorse of conscience, while breath remains, we will attack them, in defence of our just rights, and never lay down our arms until we force them to desist. Besides, we are fully satisfied to prove in a judicial manner, before twelve or more bishops, the facts, which we have stated, and the grievances, which we have complained of. Not like the English, who in time of prosperity condemn all legal ordinances; and, if they enjoyed prosperity at present, would not recur to Rome, as they do now, but would crush, with their overbearing and tyrannical haughtiness, all the surrounding nations, despising every law human and divine.

“ Therefore, on account of all those injuries, and a thousand others, which human wit cannot easily comprehend; and on account of the kings of England, and their wicked ministers, who, instead of governing us, as they are bound to do, with justice and moderation, have wickedly endeavoured to exterminate us off the face of the earth; and to shake off entirely their detestable yoke, and recover our native liberties, which we lost by their means, we are forced to carry on an exterminating war; chusing in defence of our lives and liberties, rather to rise, like men, and expose our persons bravely to all the dangers of war, than any longer to bear, like women, their atrocious and detestable injuries. And in order to obtain our interest the more speedily and consistently, we invite the gallant Edward Bruce, to whom, being descended from our most noble ancestors, we transfer, as we justly may, our own right of royal dominion, unanimously declaring him our king, by common consent, who in our opinion, and in the opinion of most men, is as just, prudent, and pious, as he is powerful and courageous: who will do justice to all classes of people, and restore to the church those properties, of which it has been so damnable and so inhumanly despoiled,” &c.

On receipt of this spirited pathetic remonstrance, the Pope, though solicited by the court of London, to issue an excommunication against the Irish and Scotch, thought proper to send a copy of it to Edward II., accompanied with

the following exhortations to attend to the grievances stated therein, and correct them.

“ Pope John, the servant of the servants of God, to the illustrious Edward, king of England, health and eternal benediction.

“ Most beloved son, we bear a paternal love for the encrease and prosperity of your highness, while we invite you, with earnest exhortation, to attend to those things which are pleasing to the just judge of your kingdom, and that would be productive of the peace of your lands and subjects, and worthy of your sense and honor. For which reason you ought to receive our advice with a devout mind, and yield yourself flexible and ready to put them in execution. Behold, my son, we have received letters, addressed to us long ago, by the magnats and people of Ireland, to the address of our beloved sons Anselm, cardinal presbyter of the SS. Marcelline and Peter, and Luke, cardinal deacon, of the title of St. Mary, of Broadstreet, nuncios of the apostolic see, and by them transmitted to us, inclosed in their own letters. In the sayings of which, among other things, we have seen a document, stating, that whereas Pope Adrian, our predecessor of happy memory, had granted the dominion of Ireland to Henry II., your progenitor of illustrious memory, by apostolic letters, containing a certain modification and limits; that the said king and his successors, kings of England, to this time, have not observed this modification. nor

these limits, but, on the contrary, transgressing them, have oppressed the Irish with unheard-of grievances of insupportable servitude, and superfluous afflictions; nor was there hitherto any who would redress those grievances, or punish those crimes. No one was moved with a pious compassion for the destruction of these people; although they often had recourse to you, and the loud cry of the oppressed sometimes rung in your ears.

“ On these accounts, unable any longer to bear such tyranny, they were compelled to withdraw from your dominion, and to call another to rule them.

“ These allegations, my dear son, if founded on truth, are so much the more distressing to our feelings, the more intensely we wish all sorts of prosperity to you. You ought sedulously to attend to those things, and to put in speedy execution such measures, as may be pleasing to your Creator; and solicitously to avoid all things by which God himself, the Lord of vengeance, might be provoked against you, who does not neglect the groans of those unjustly oppressed, who is known to have rejected his chosen people for their injustice, and made a transfer of empires. What we the more ardently wish for you is, to pay attention, in these times of revolution, to every means that may conciliate the affections of the people, and avoid every thing that may cause disaffection. Now, as it is your interest to prevent the evils that these troubles may cause, so it is most expedient not to neglect the begin-

nings, lest the evil encreasing daily, the necessary remedy might come too late. Every thing well considered, we exhort, by these presents, your majesty, that by maturity of council, and prudence of consideration of your statesmen, you should provide a correction and reformation of these abuses and grievances, by such decent ways and means as you may be able to devise; that so you may be able to oppose these dangerous beginnings, and please him, by whom you reign, and plant yourself solidly among them; that so no one may have any cause of complaint against you; and that the Irish, led by sounder counsel, may obey you as their lord: or if, which God forbid, they should continue in their foolish rebellion, they would make their own cause appear unjust, and leave you excused before God and man.

“That you may be the more fully informed of the aforesaid grievances and complaints, on which the Irish rest their cause, we send you the aforesaid letters, addressed to the aforesaid cardinals, with a copy of the letters, by which our fore-mentioned predecessor, Pope Adrian, granted the land of Ireland to the said Henry, king of England. Given at the Vatican,” &c.

In round terms he asserts the claims of English kings on Ireland; “that if the Irish persevered in their foolish rebellion, they would excuse him before God and man, and condemn their own cause.” I see no reason for these bold assertions, but the following iniquitous grant

made by Pope Adrian IV., and confirmed by his successors, until the schism of Henry VIII.

“ Adrian the bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the noble king of England, sendeth greeting and apostolic benediction.

“ Your magnificence hath been very careful and studious how you might enlarge the church of God here on earth, and encrease the number of saints and elect in heaven, in that as a good catholic king, you have and do by all means labour and travel to enlarge and encrease God’s church, by teaching the ignorant people the true and Christian religion, and in abolishing and rooting up the weeds of sin and wickedness. And wherein you have, and do crave, for your better furtherance, the help of the apostolic see (wherein more speedily and discreetly you proceed) the better success, we hope, God will send; for all they, which of a fervent zeal and love in religion, do begin and enterprize any such thing, shall no doubt in the end have a good and prosperous success. And as for Ireland, and all other islands where Christ is known and the Christian religion received, it is out of all doubt, and your excellency well knoweth, they do all appertain and belong to the right of St. Peter, and of the church of Rome; and we are so much the more ready, desirous, and willing, to sow the acceptable seed of God’s word, because we know the same in the latter day will be most severely re-

quired at your hands. You have (our well beloved son in Christ) advertised and signified unto us, that you will enter into the land and realm of Ireland, to the end to bring them to obedience unto law, and under your subjection, and to root out from among them their foul sins and wickedness; as also to yield and pay yearly out of every house, a yearly pension of one penny to St. Peter; and besides also will defend and keep the rites of those churches whole and inviolate. We therefore, well allowing and favouring this your godly disposition and commendable affection, do accept, ratify, and assent, unto this your petition, and do grant that you (for the dilating of God's church, the punishment of sin, the reforming of manners, the planting of virtue, and the encreasing of Christian religion) do enter to possess that land, and there to execute, according to your wisdom, whatsoever shall be for the honour of God and the safety of the realm. And further also we do strictly charge and require, that all the people of that land do with all humbleness, dutifulness, and honour, receive and accept you as their liege lord and sovereign, reserving and excepting the right of Holy Church to be inviolably preserved, as also the yearly pension of Peter-pence out of every house, which we require to be truly answered to St. Peter and to the church of Rome. If therefore you do mind to bring your godly purpose to effect, endeavour to travail to reform the people to some better order and trade of life, and that also by yourself and by such others as you

shall think meet, true and honest in their life, manners and conversation, to the end the church of God may be beautified, the true Christian religion sowed and planted, and all other things done, that by any means shall or may be to God's honour and salvation of men's souls, whereby you may in the end receive of God's hands the reward of everlasting life, and also in the mean time, and in this life, carry a glorious fame and an honourable report among all nations."

The representations of Edward, however, at the court of Rome, prevailed. The English allowed his holiness both temporal and spiritual power, the Irish confined him to spirituals: this may account for the partiality in favour of the latter. The bull of excommunication was published some time afterwards, in which Robert and Edward Bruce are mentioned by name.

On the 25th of May, 1315, Edward Bruce landed in the north, with 6000 men, to assert his title to the sovereignty of this island; as just a title as ever man had to a crown. He was invited by independent princes, who never acknowledged themselves subjects; and by a people, groaning under the most galling and intolerable oppression, who would not be received as subjects of the English monarchs, nor be admitted to the protection of the law, though backing their petitions with large offers of money. It was the constant policy of the popish parliament of the Pale, to devise penal statutes against Milesian catholics, and the governors and set-

blers were equally industrious to enforce them. "Hence it is," says Sir John Davies, "that in all the parliament rolls, which are extant, from the 40th year of Edward III. when the statutes of Kilkenny were enacted, to the reign of king Henry VIII. we find the degenerate and disobedient English called rebels; but the Irish, which were not in the king's peace, are called enemies. Statutes of Kilkenny, c. 1, 10, and 11. 11 Hen. IV. c. 24. 10 Hen. VI. c. 1, 18. 18 Hen. VI. c. 4. 5 Edw. IV. c. 6. 10 Hen. VIII. c. 17. All these statutes speak of English rebels, and Irish enemies; as if the Irish had never been in the condition of subjects, but always out of the protection of the laws, and were indeed in a worse case than aliens of any foreign realm, that was in amity with the crown of England. For by divers heavy penal laws, the English were forbidden to marry, to foster, to make gossippes with the Irish; or to have any trade or commerce in their markets and fairs."

A still more grievous article, in the English penal code against native catholics, were those statutes, which made it lawful, or at most but slightly penal, to kill them. By the Beard act,*

* "No manner man, that will be taken for an Englishman, shall have no beard above his mouth, that is to say, that he have no hairs upon his upper lip, so that the said lip be once at least shaven every fortnight, or of equal growth with the nether lip. And if any man be found amongst the English contrary hereunto, that then it shall be lawful to every man to take them and their goods as Irish enemies, and to ransom them as Irish enemies;" (1. 25 Hen. VI.) if the ransom was not paid—death.

the Apparel and Surname acts,* against those English called degenerate, for conforming to national customs, we see clearly the insecurity of the life of any of the antient race. Such people are warned, that, in an Irish garb, they forfeit the protection of the law, and are liable to be treated as an Irish enemy; i. e. whoever found it convenient might take their lives and properties. By the comparison of two acts, one respecting the fine for conveying a hawk † out of the Pale, another concerning a peaceable Milesian living

* Stat. 19 Ed. IV. c. 3. enacts, “that every Irishman that dwells betwixt or amongst Englishmen, in the county of Dublin, Myeth, Uriell and Kildare, shall go like to one Englishman in apparel, and shaving of his beard above the mouth, and shall be within one year sworn the liege-man of the king in the hands of the lieutenant or deputie, or such as he will assign to receive this oath for the multitude that is to be sworn, and shall take to him an English surname of one town, as Sutton, Chester, Trym, Skryne, Corke, Kinsale: or colour, as White, Blacke, Browne: or arte or science, as Smith or Carpenter: or office, as Cooke, Butler, and that he and his issue shall use this name, under pain of forfeiting of his good yearly till the premisses be done to be levied two times by the year to the king’s wars, according to the discretion of the lieutenant of the king or his deputy.”

† By st. 20 Ed. IV. sess. 2. it is enacted, that “whatsoever merchant shall take or carry any hawk out of the said land of Ireland, shall pay for every goshawke thirteen shillings and four pence, for a tiercel six shillings eight pence, for a falcon ten shillings, and the poundage accordingly. And that every merchant that shall do contrary to this act, so often as he so doth shall incur the penalty of forty shillings, the one half to the king, and the other half to the finder or informer.”

by his industry within the Pale, we may form an estimate of the contempt in which the lives of Irish catholics were held, by these barbarous legislators. The fine for the hawk was thirteen shillings and four-pence, the Milesian eric was six pence. But for those out of the Pale, living according to the antient laws and customs of the country, killing them was thought praise-worthy, and the higher in rank the greater the applause.

It was not enough to deprive the ancient Irish of all legal protection, and allow every settler that could, to take their lives and properties, but a reward was put upon their heads, by the infamous head act, passed by the infamous junto of the Pale, at Trim, before the earl of Desmond, deputy to the duke of Clarence, the king's Irish deputy, in the fifth of Edward IV. 1465. " It is ordained and established, that it shall be lawful to all manner of men that find any thieves robbing by day or by night, or going or coming, to rob, or steal, in, or out, going or coming, having no faithful man of good name and fame in their company in English apparel upon any of the liege people of the king, that it shall be lawful to take and kill those, and to cut off their heads, without any impeachment of our sovereign lord the king, &c. and of any head so cut, in the county of Meath, that the cutter of the said head and his ayders there to him, cause the said head so cut to be brought to the portreffe of the town of Trim, and the said portreffe to put it upon a stake or spear upon the castle of Trim, and that the said portreffe shall give his writing under

the common seal of the said town, testifying the bringing of the said to him. And that it shall be lawful by authority of the said parliament to the said bringer of the said head, and his ayders to the same, for to distrain and levy by their own hands, of every man having one plough-land in the barony where the said theif was so taken, two-pence, and of every man having half a plough-land in the said barony, one peny, and every man having one house and goods to the value of fourty shillings, one peny, and of every other cottier having house and smoak, one half peny. And if the same portreffe refuse for to give the said certificate by writing, freely under his said common seal, then the said portreffe to forfeit to the said bringer of the said head ten pounds, and that he may have his action by bill or by writ, in whatsoever court shall please the bringer of the said head for the said ten pounds against the said portreffe." Here was an ample reward for the murder of a Milesian, established by the parliament of the Pale, to be recovered from the barony, by the aid of civil officers, from whom, if they refused compliance, it was recoverable by law. "Going or coming, in or out, by night or by day! unless some man of good name, and fame; (i. e. of English name, and closely wedded to the English interest), were in his or their company, in English apparel!" If a man was caught in the act of robbing, there might be an excuse for homicide; but going or coming! were these authorised and rewarded head-loppers gifted with second sight,

or infallible, that they should know where or on what errand every Milesian Irishman was going or coming, to or from. There is no conventicle of robbers and assassins could devise better encouragement to the avarice or the revenge of profligate men. Let any villain fall on a travelling Milesian by night or by day, if he was not in the company of some reputable man of English descent, (if such there were,) salute him with dagger, cut off his head, bring it to the constable of Trim, and levy his head-fine on the barony. All the evidence required of him was, to declare that the head had been that of a Milesian, and that he was not in company with any of the settlers, and that in his opinion he was going to or coming from some bad errand! what a licence, what encouragements, what rewards for the blackest crimes! a stranger of English descent might be sacrificed by this perversion of law.

That property as well as life was insecure, is evident from the language of the parliament of the Pale, which denominates lands in possession of the ancient Irish waste ground. The king of England exceeded the liberality of the Pope, in making grants of property not his own. The latter bestowed dominion, but not the right of extermination, and of the seizure of all property the former was guilty. Encouraged by the authority of both, and prompted by insatiable avarice and tyranny, the grantees, about nine or ten in number, with their followers, to whom Henry, in breach of his treaties, by which he guaranteed

their lands and other properties, bestowed the whole island, soon set up for themselves as independent princes. The ancient Irish, in the districts occupied by these new kings, were held in villeinage, after the manner of the labouring classes in England, who were then in the condition of villeins. This explains why the petitions of the distressed Milesians, either smarting under the dominion of the settlers, or galled to madness by incessant annoyance from castles planted in their neighbourhood, praying to be admitted as subjects of the king of England, and to be protected by English law, where the Brehon law was abolished, were always strenuously opposed by settlers, to whom English kings always referred them. The concession * " woulde have abridged and cut off a great part of that greatness which they had promised unto themselves: they perswaded the king of England, that it was unfit to communicate the lawes of England unto them; that it was the best policie to hold them as aliens and enemies, and to prosecute them with a continual warre. Heereby they obtained another royal prerogative and power; which was to make warre and peace at their pleasure in every part of the kingdome: which gave them an absolute command over the bodies, lands, and goods of the English subjects heere. The troth is, that those great English lords did to the uttermost of their power, crosse and withstand the enfranchizement of the Irish.

for the causes before expressed, wherein I must cleare and acquit the crown and state of England of negligence or ill policy."

From their first settlement they considered themselves as well entitled to the full possession of Ireland, by the double grant of Pope and king, as the Jews were entitled to Palestine by the gift of God. They planned the utter extermination of the ancient Irish, as the Jews were ordered to treat the Canaanites and Philistines. The Jews were prohibited all alliances or close intimacy of any kind with the Canaanites, lest they should be infected with idolatry; so the English settlers were interdicted "marriage, gossipred, or nurture of infants," with the ancient Irish, though the religion of the latter was purer than their own. Of this we have an example, in the famous statutes of Kilkenny, that Sir John Davies quotes on this subject.

"In the 40th year of his reign king Edward held that famous parliament at Kilkenny, wherein many notable lawes were enacted, which doo shew and lay open (for the lawe doth best discover enormities) how much the English colonies were corrupted at that time, and doo infallibly prove that which is laide down before: that they were wholly degenerate, and fallen away from their obedience. For first it appeareth by the preamble of these lawes, that the English of this realme, before the coming over of Lionel duke of Clarence, were at that time become meere Irish in their language, names, apparell, and all their manner of living. and had rejected

the English lawes and submitted themselves to the Irish, with whom they had made many marriages and alliances, which tended to the utter ruin and destruction of the commonwealth. Therefore alliaunce by marriage, nurture of infants, and gossipred with the Irish are by this stature made high treason. Again, if anie man of English race should use an Irish name, Irish language, or Irish apparell, or any other guize or fashion of the Irish, if he had lands or tene-ments, the same should be seized, till he had given security to the Chancery, to conform himself in all points to the English manner of living. And if he had no lands, his bodie was to be taken and imprisoned, till he found sureties as aforesaid."

The imperfection of Irish laws, which were in a great measure corrected by Irish manners, became an intolerable scourge in the hands of the adventurers. If an Irish chief was empowered, in time of war, to lay a bonaght, i. e. billet his soldiers on his people, it was because he had no revenue, the land being held in fee simple by the families of the clan. The chief was elective, and abuse of his authority could easily raise him a rival, or invite invasion from some neighbouring chief. While the Irish constitution stood, there lay an appeal to the monarch and the convention of Tara. A people of the most lively sensibility to praise and dispraise, would not willingly expose themselves to the satire of their bards; in fact, in the character, manners, and customs of the ancient Irish, there were

many checks to the abuse of power, and some consolations to humanity, even under tyranny. Not so with the English settlers; they were acquainted with nothing in their parent country but the tyranny established there by its Norman conquerors. All the barons were despotic tyrants, all their laborious classes were villeins, and their laws were like the laws of Draco, written in blood. It seems those sanguinary laws either were necessary for their nature, or made their nature worse; for like felons bursting from the bolts of a prison, coming from the severe restraints of English tyranny and sanguinary laws, to a land where anarchy had succeeded freedom, and where the laws were so mild, that the word death was never mentioned in the code, they gave an entire loose to their appetites for plunder and carnage. Their properties were made hereditary, their landholders were obliged to pay rent and taxes; so to put the Irish bonaght on them was a grievous oppression. There was hardly any remedy for a long time, not even the check of public opinion, because the public of the settlers was England, to which they sent what representations they pleased. The attorney-general of James I. mentions the grievance of coyne and livery.

“ But the most wicked and mischievous custom of all others was that of coygne and livery, often before-mentioned: which consisted in taking maus-meate, horse-meate and money, of all the inhabitants of the country at the will and pleasure of the soldier, who, as the phrase of

Scripture is, did eate up the people as it were bread, for that he had no other entertainment. This extortion was originally Irish, for they used to lay bouaght upon the people, and never gave their soldier any other pay. But when the English had learned it, they used it with more insolency and made it more intollerable; for this oppression was not temporary, or limited either to place or time: but because there was every where a continuall warre, either offensive or defensive, and everie lorde of a countrie, and everie marcher made warre and peace at his pleasure, it became universall and perpetuall: and was indeede the most heavy oppression that ever was used in anie Christian or Heathen kingdome. And therefore vox oppressorum, this crying sinne did drawe down as great or greater plagues upon Ireland, than the oppression of the Israelites did draw upon the land of Egypt. For the plagues of Egypt, though they were grievous, were of a short continuance: but the plagues of Ireland lasted 400 years together. This extortion of coygne and livery did produce two notorious effects. First, it made the land waste: next, it made the people ydle. For when the husbandmen had laboured all the yeare, the soldier in one night did consume the fruites of all his labour, longique perit labor irritus anni. Had hee reason then to manure the lande for the next yeare, or rather might he not complayne as the sheperd in Virgil:

Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit?
Barbarus has segetes? En quo discordia cives
Produxit miseros? En quæ consecvimus agros?

And hereupon of necessity came depopulation, banishment, and extirpation of the better sort of subjects, and such as remained became ydle and lookers on, expecting the event of those miseries and evill times: so as this extream extortion and oppression hath been the true cause of idlenesse in this Irish nation; and that rather the vulgar sort have chosen to be beggars in forraign countries than to manure their own fruitful land at home. Lastly, this oppression did of force and necessitie make the Irish a crafty people; for such as are oppressed and live in slavery are ever put to their shifts, ingenium mala semper movent.”*

Let no man be surprised, that English writers called the Milesian Irish, at war with the Pale, rebels; while in the language of parliament, and the law, they are stiled enemy, like any other power at war. They used the same abusive stile towards the Scots. “The Scotch began to rebel, anno 1079—again they were in rebellion, anno 1090—under king Malcolm again, anno 1103, when their king was slain. The Welsh began to rebel, anno 1121.”† In the language of this libeller, the Scotch, an independent nation, governed by their own kings, and their own laws, are called rebels, for defending themselves against English encroachments. The Welsh also, governed by their own princes, and their own laws, are denominated rebels. The opposition of the Irish princes to English tyranny, is, in the same

* Davies’s Discovery, p. 174, &c.

† Hemingford, mors Gul. Nothi, 1087.

libellous spirit, stiled rebellion, by the English writers of romance, falsely called history.* The language of the law is correct and decisive on this subject. The independent Irish, at war with the king's deputy, are not called Rebels, but Irish enemies; as the French or Russians would be called enemies, not rebels. This was uniformly the language of the law, untill the reign of queen Elizabeth. In an act of the 28th of Henry VI. passed by the parliament of the Pale, in the presence of Richard, duke of York, anno 1450, this distinction is clearly marked. "And the captains of the said marchours,† their wives, and their pages, do bring with them the king's Irish Enemies, both men and women, and English rebels." In a parliament held at Drogheda, in the 28th of Hen. VI., before the said duke of York, the limits of the Pale,‡ i. e. the English king's jurisdiction, are precisely ascertained. Within them limits, war against the crown was, in the language of the law, rebellion; without them limits it was, in the same correct language, stiled the war of an enemy. The law, therefore, as it were by anticipation, has passed sentence of condemnation upon these impertinent scribblers

* With a fresh edition of these slop-shop impurities, the public, it seems, is to be new regaled, by a press miscalling itself Hibernian.

† Marchours. i. e. settlers possessed of freeholds on the borders of the Pale, on condition of keeping and practising the use of arms, to watch the movements of the independent Irish, and give the alarm when necessary. Sentinels, outposts.

‡ Dublin, Kildare, Meath, and Uriel (Louth).

of fooleries, in which they stile the resistance of independent princes rebellion.

Two acts (5 Edward IV.) for arming the Pale in a mass, prove, that the independent Irish were still formidable. Those of Irish descent, even within the Pale, were as three or four to one, to those of English extraction; whence, to conceal their inferiority, the Surname act, the Beard act, the Apparel and Language acts, &c.

The chieftains of Ulster, who had invited Bruce, were now prepared to receive their new monarch. They flocked to his standard, gave hostages, and marched, under his command, to rescue their country from a deplorable bondage mixed with destructive anarchy. The few garrisoned towns and castles, possessed by the English in the north, were soon overpowered. There were no English settlers in the north, except in such places, notwithstanding the outcry of the historical liar, Leland, on the butchery of English settlers, who were “driven from their fairest possessions in a moment.” The settlers, their possessions, and butchery, are all fictions, invented to deceive the reader. There were settlers in the other three provinces, but in the north none, except in a few strong holds on the sea coast. This is not his first historical lie. The perfidious murder of Brien Roe O'Brian, chieftain of Thomond, by Thomas de Clare, brother to the duke of Gloucester, who had invited him to dine, for that hellish purpose, he endeavours to palliate or deny, by saying “he was killed by one of his own people, as Irish writers al-

lege." He names no writer, because he could not. He states, that O'Brien's sons compelled De Clare to pay the eric for their father's murder, which could not be done unless the murder was proved home. He had in his possession, the remonstrance, drawn up by the northern chieftains, and addressed to Pope John XXII., in which they state that treacherous invitation and murder, as one of the instances of the detestable policy used by English adventurers in this unhappy land. They were cotemporaries, and could not appeal to the Pope, and the world, but on a notorious ouvert act. A lie of that magnitude, and of such recent occurrence, would soon be detected; the people, interested in the detection, had most influence with the court of Rome, and most connexion with foreign parts; and one detected falsehood would discredit the whole remonstrance, and injure their cause. It is much more easy to conceive, that an historian, evidently partial, would sooner smother the truth, or tell a tale, to conceal or palliate the crimes of his favourites, than that an assembly of the magnates of Ireland, men bred in the principles of chivalrous honor, could agree to publish a false account of a cotemporary fact, the refutation of which would be so easy, and so injurious to their interests.

What the measures were, that occupied the attention of the English cabinet with the Irish deputies, during their long stay in London, to repel an invasion truly formidable in the actual circumstances of the island, we are in a great

measure left to conjectures. Neither they nor their successors deemed it expedient to make them public. From a letter* of the earl of Essex to queen Elizabeth, we may form a pretty sure guess at the palladium of England and its settlers, under the terrors of the alliance of Ireland and Scotland: "Thirdly, your majesty, victualing your army out of England, and with your garrisons burning and spoiling the country in all places, shall starve the rebels in one year, because no place else can supply them." This was put in practice in the golden days of queen Bess, with an addition of a base coin, forged by royal authority, for the payment of her forces, and the general circulating medium for the purchase of all sorts of necessaries; in order when the famine was brought on them, they should be destitute of the means of purchasing provisions from any part of the world. Famine, and the pestilence, its usual concomitant, swept away their millions, to civilize the poor Irish. Would England, and its settlers, scruple the employment of such dreadful means, to avert the storm of war threatening them from the united powers of Scotland and Ireland. Did they not know, that the want of provisions alone could prevent their bringing such an army into the field, so superior in numbers and valour, as they could never be able to cope with. Or did popish England, and its settlers, leave any article in the catalogue of inhumanity, treachery, or barbarity, to be in-

* Dated 5th June, 1598

vented or improved by their protestant successors? On a comparison of two codes, the popish and the protestant, against Irish catholics, the latter will appear, to an impartial observer, to fall short of its predecessor, in the most features of cruelty and tyranny.

The sequel will prove, even from partial documents, whether the terrible scourges of plague and famine were or were not resorted to by the settlers. “ Richard, earl of Ulster, rose up, with such forces as he could collect, at Roscommon, whence marching to Athlone, he was there joined by Fedlim O’Connor, with his forces. He then proceeded through the territory of Meath, to the northern province, wasting and desolating the districts through which he passed, to supply the necessities of his army.” (Leland.) He forgot to add, that to deprive the enemy of resources he destroyed all he did not use. “ Butler, the deputy, exerted his diligence to collect the troops of Leinster, offered his aid to earl Richard, who, disdaining his assistance, advised him to attend to the security of Leinster.”* This was no act of an imperious proud spirit, as Leland would persuade us, but of a deep, though infernal policy. They divided the provinces between them, in order to secure provisions for themselves in their fortresses, and by laying waste the country, to render the subsistence of a great army any where impossible.

Cennaught, while their troops were actually

* Leland, Vol. I. B. II. c. iii. p. 267.

fighting the battles of the settlers, could not escape the disasters planned for their countrymen. A rival was raised up against young Fedlim, during his campaign against the invaders, who succeeded in getting himself acknowledged chief of the Irish division of Connaught, after much bloodshed and devastation. Thus Fedlim was obliged to march back to Connaught, with his troops, continually harassed by the northern Irish, who justly retaliated on him the devastation of their districts, which could not be so much as attempted without his aid. The earl of Ulster was soon obliged to follow him, happy to escape the pursuit of the Scotch and northern forces with great loss of men. But want of provision, in those parts laid waste, deprived Bruce of the advantages of his victory, compelling him to return back to the north, where he remained some time in a state of inactivity. Fedlim, ambitious to recover his petty sovereignty, but unable, with the shattered remains of a discomfited army, to meet his antagonist in the field, assisted the earl of Ulster in putting the famishing plan in execution. They carried on a predatory warfare. Suddenly issuing out from their castles and strong holds, and coming unawares on a district, they wasted all manner of provisions, which they could not speedily convey to their fortresses, thus aggravating the distresses of a scarce season, with all the horrors of war, famine, and pestilence.

On the arrival of Sir John Bermingham with a select body of troops, Fedlim took the field,

and engaged his rival, who lost the battle and his life. Fedlim, discontented with the immoderate ambition of his allies, declared for Bruce. The cession of a large part of his already too much diminished territory, demanded in recompence for a service justly due to him, appeared to him not the act of an honorable faithful ally, but of an insidious encroaching enemy. It was his alliance with the settlers, and his devastating campaign to the north, that raised him a rival, who possessed himself of the sovereignty. What he lost by the alliance, his allies were in duty bound to make good to him, to the utmost of their power. Wherefore, then, demand cession of territory, for doing a service due to him by the law of nature and of nations. He rejected the demand, and declared for Bruce. This was the effect of resentment, not policy; and he verified an Irish proverb, applying generally to Irishmen, equivalent to the Latin adage, *sero sapiunt Phryges*, i. e. Phrygians are wise too late. The Irish say of themselves, *andiagh na ngnoithe thig kiall an Eirínigh*, i. e. after the deed comes the good sense of the Irishman. That sentence, pronounced by themselves, is truly characteristic, and points out one great cause of their downfall.

Extremely proud, passionate and vindictive, there were always many pretenders to their elective sovereignties, who, by flattery and promise of succour, could easily be prevailed on to assert their pretensions with the sword. A cession of territory must reward the instigators of the civil war, if their ally is victorious. The same causes

perpetuated family feuds, and prevented the election of a monarch for a long time. Each of the four provincial kings thought himself too great to own a superior on earth. Passionate and precipitate in their resolves, they were likewise obstinate in the execution of them; for though they had sagacity enough to discover an error, they too commonly wanted humility to own and correct it, unless roused by a contrary passion; some deep insult to their feelings and honor, as in the case of Fedlim O'Connor. He had, however, during his alliance with the English settlers, done more injury to the cause of the confederate Scotch and Irish, than he could possibly repair by espousing it. The country was now wasted. Numerous armies could not be kept together for want of food; and the settlers lay secure in their castles and strong holds, stored with provision, while the antient natives perished by myriads, under the cruel pangs of famine and pestilence. This is the true cause of the failure of that measure; the wisest and most promising ever adopted by the Milesian chieftains, since the English invasion.

Edward Bruce was crowned at Dundalk. All Ulster, and a great part of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, declared for him. His brother Robert, king of Scotland, landed in the north, with a powerful army, to support the confederates. All these promising appearances were blasted by famine. The king of Scotland was obliged to return home, leaving but a part of his army to king Edward. After the surrender of

Carrickfergus, the only place in the north that held out against him, the new monarch of Ireland marched southward, at the head of the confederate Scotch and Irish, joined likewise by some of the chief settlers; as the De Lacys, and their numerous followers.

In the mean time, the English chieftains made the greatest exertions. They raised an army of 30,000 men, as some Pale writers say, the great majority of which consisted of Milesian Irish. They could keep them together, where they had magazines of provisions. They entered into an association to support the English interest with their lives and fortunes, and gave hostages to Hotham, the king's commissioner, for their faith and loyalty. To confirm them in their loyal disposition, the king conferred some new honors on their chiefs. John Fitz-Gerald, baron of Ophaly, was created earl of Kildare, and Edmond Butler was made earl of Carrick. These exerted themselves with vigour in warlike preparations. They dispatched an army to Connaught, under the command of William de Burgo, and Richard de Bermingham, against Fedlim O'Connor. The forces met at Athenree, where a desperate battle was fought, in which O'Connor lost his life, and of course the battle; for the Irish, like the Hindoos, when the chief who commanded happened to be slain, gave up fighting and fled. Sensible of this, the chief, not protected by life guards like modern monarchs, was always singled out for destruction by the English. The writers of the Pale swell

the number slain by the English, in that battle, to 8000. 'Tis probable O'Connor's troops did not amount to that number. Neither was the havoc done by Englishmen. English foot had no more chance of overtaking an Irish army in its flight, than a body of cavalry; and few of such horses as the English then had that an Irishman afoot would not outrun, according to cotemporary English writers. Accordingly, little slaughter could be made of them, unless their swift-footed countrymen were engaged in the pursuit, of whom the Anglo-Irish armies were chiefly composed.

Not discouraged at the fall of this useful ally, Edward Bruce proceeded to assert his title to the throne of Ireland with spirit. He marched up to Dublin, when the garrison and citizens set fire to the suburbs, to which the cathedral of St. Patrick fell a prey, and retired within the walls, for a brisk defence of which they made great preparations. The mayor seized De Burgo, earl of Ulster, on suspicion of favouring the new king, his sister being married to Robert, king of Scotland, and committed him to prison. Bruce, finding the town well prepared for defence, unable for want of provisions, to form either a blockade or carry on a siege, moved off through the county of Kildare. Thence he marched through Ossory and Tipperary, and encamped near the city of Limerick. The English forces, commanded by Roger Mortimer, of Wigmore, who came with a considerable reinforcement, lay at no great distance, in a strong

position. Leland says, “ Bruce, conscious of his own real weakness, determined to avoid an engagement.” Who can believe the historian of the Pale? Bruce could not avoid an engagement, if the English chose to force him to it. He had to seek sustenance for his army through a wasted country, in which they must take a wide range, to glean as much as might barely stay the galling cravings of hunger. In such a situation, if any enemy came upon him, how could he avoid giving battle? On the contrary, it was the policy of the English to avoid, at that time, a general engagement, and wait the sure operations of famine in a wasted country. Bruce several times offered battle on the plain of Fearan Samhgil, near Limerick; but the English, well knowing that he must soon decamp for want of provisions, cautiously declined it. A battle being the only military operation that he could attempt, and that being refused, his only resource was to return back again to Ulster.

Leland, in his account of this frustrated expedition, “ gluts his frantic malice,” to use his own words, in loading the confederate army with all the foul epithets his prejudiced mind could furnish—“ Marched southwards, with a barbarous army, enflamed to madness by the violent cravings of nature, and prepared to glut their frantic malice, and allay the rage of hunger, by the bloodiest hostilities and most ruthless depredations.” Is this language for an historian? Is it not rather the low, vulgar ribaldry of the fish-market? I see no reason why the Scotch or

Irish should be denominated barbarous, by any member of the Pale. I know no better tests and means of civilization, than religion and the fine arts. The Island of Saints excelled in both these. Of the fine arts, music and poetry principally contribute to polish the mind and improve the feelings. In the first, the Irish excelled all the neighbouring nations, and that incomparably, on the testimony of the English themselves. In the latter, they excelled their cotemporaries as much as in the former; and their language was admirably fitted for every effusion of the muses. It combined the majesty of the Spanish, the softness and melody of the Italian, the strength and conciseness of the Hebrew, as suited the subject and occasion. Admirably copious, and containing in itself the terms of all arts and sciences till then invented, and the radicals of all the languages in the world, it was, of necessity, the language of a highly cultivated and refined people. With and through it, the philosophy of language, and the affinities of all tongues, can be traced. Even the word barbarous, here misplaced by the too partial Doctor, cannot be explained by any Grecist or Latinist. 'Tis the Celtic barb, or borb, fierce, untractable; from barr, or borr, high feeding, pampering, which is productive of that effect on all animals. Now the English are remarkable, among all neighbouring nations, for unwearied voracity, which must necessarily have its effect on the temperament of body and mind. If the one be filled with gross humours, and a redundancy of sagi-

nation, the other will be sulky, churlish, sometimes oppressed with a lowness of spirits terminating in suicide, always unsocial, tyrannical, fanatically hating other nations, through the corruption of bile, the prejudices of education, and the overgrown spleen of unlimited selfishness. The description of our masters, copied by Leland himself from Hume, may point out the party to whom the epithet would more properly apply. “The estate of an English baron was managed by his bailiffs, and cultivated by his villains; its produce was consumed in rustic hospitality, by the baron and his officers; a number of idle retainers, ready for any mischief or disorder, were maintained by him: all who lived upon his estate were absolutely at his disposal. Instead of applying to courts of justice, he usually sought redress by open force and violence. The great nobility were a kind of independent potentates, who, if they submitted to any regulations at all, were less governed by the municipal law, than by a rude species of the law of nations.”*

“This is the description of an admired English historian: and if we were to delineate the manners of the most unrefined Irish septs, we might fairly adopt the very same terms. Add to this, the vices of the English nobility, which the same writer enumerates, in the reign of Edward III., the outrageous and intolerable abuse of purveyance, the interruption of the

* Hume, Vol. II. 4to. p. 153.

course of law from grants of franchises and immunities, levying exorbitant fines, unjust pardoning of criminals, confederacies formed by great lords in mutual support of their iniquity, and the numberless robberies, murders, and ravishments committed by their retainers; and the whole picture, both of the English and the native inhabitants of Ireland, is exactly delineated."* Not quite. Here Mr. Leland adds to those errors, or wilful mistatements, which disgrace so many of his pages. The estate of the clan did not belong to the chief, who had but his portion of it among his brethren, his equals in blood, inferior only by station. All on the estate were by no means at his disposal, nor could he substitute violence for law. He must be governed by written laws, like the other members of the commonwealth. His receipts, for the support of his dignity, were small; and an elective chief, liable to be crossed by a rival, had too much need of popularity, or indeed too confined means, to oppress his kindred. The social dispositions of the people, universal hospitality, and the inviolability of the guest, among every tribe that received him, were antidotes to the evils of the times, of which boasting England was destitute. In Ireland, prevailing anarchy, trampling on the constitution and laws, was mitigated in its effects by national manners. Hence, the tendency of the greater part of the settlers to adopt these manners and customs and

* Leland, Vol. I. Book II. c. iv. p. 285.

become Irishmen in reality, as well as by name; even numbers, in times of disturbance, took refuge among the Irish tribes, from the tyranny and feudal barbarities of Anglo-Irish barons. The Irish had no villains, but such English children as they purchased from their own parents: even that traffic was prohibited by an assembly of the Irish clergy. Was this traffic criminal? If the Irish are what they are misrepresented by party writers, English parents were guilty of the most heinous crime against nature and parental duty. If they were such as venerable Bede, Alfred the Great, and all the old Saxon writers describe them; a people renowned for sanctity, learning, hospitality, indulgent lenity to inferiors, the traffic would lose much of its criminality. In case of great poverty it might even be laudable, in a distressed parent, to confide his child to such persons as would reward bodily labour with education, food, and clothing. All these things they were accustomed to bestow on the children of the English, as Bede and Lord Lyttleton tell us.

But to return to Edward Bruce, and what Leland is pleased to call his barbarous army. For want of provisions, after various successful battles and skirmishes, he was obliged to remain quiet in the north, where the English did not think it proper to molest him for a considerable time. Now if any one chuses to doubt, whether the plan of famine was or was not that hatched by the Irish deputies, in their long conferences with the English cabinet, let him reflect on two

material circumstances. Bruce was frequently compelled by hunger to retreat to the north, notwithstanding the superiority of his arms in the other provinces. The north was not the most fertile, nor the best cultivated part of the island. How came it to have more resources in provisions? I can only account for the difference by a plain fact. The English power was unable to waste the north, as it did the other three provinces. What else can explain his retreats to the north, while he was victorious in every engagement with his enemies? Was it to repose among allies? If we credit Leland, O'Brien, and other southern chieftains, declared for him; and Munster is naturally more fertile than the north. Nothing but the systematic devastation of the country can account for this difference, as the north was less in the power of the English than the other provinces; yet De Burgo and Fedlim O'Connor had committed great ravages there likewise.

Bruce having thus withdrawn to the north, his partizans in Leinster and elsewhere retired homewards, where they were exposed to the fury of their enemies. Many were slain at Castledermot, by order of Edmond Butler. Several of the O'Moores, O'Byrnes, O'Tooles, and MacMorroughs, underwent the same fate. The O'Connors of Phaly, were massacred at Ballibogan, on the Boyne, by the English of Leinster and Meath. The Irish, on their side, made some reprisals. The O'Nowlans of Leinster slew Andrew Bermingham and Sir De la Loude, with

their followers, who were committing outrages in their district. Richard de Clare, Henry Capel, Thomas de Naas, the two Cantons, and eighty more, were slain by the O'Briens and Mac Cartys.

The Lacys of Meath, summoned to Trim by deputy Mortimer, of Wigmore, to give an account of their conduct, received the summons with scorn, and slew Hugh Crofts, the messenger. The deputy, enraged at this open defiance to his authority, laid waste the estates of the Lacys, whom he declared traitors. It appears, indeed, that this was the only family of English descent, who adhered to the interest of Bruce. They fled to Connaught, and thence to Scotland, except John de Lacy, who, falling into the deputy's hands, was by his order strangled at Trim.

To enter into a detail of all the different skirmishes, massacres, and assassinations, committed during the period of near three years, while Edward Bruce was acknowledged monarch of Ireland by the majority of the nation, would be neither entertaining nor instructive. The war, necessarily confined to petty hostilities, through the scarcity first caused by a cruel policy, and afterwards prolonged by impolitic revenge, displays no symptom of a struggle between two powerful kingdoms. The strength of the contending parties could not be collected together; because great armies require great magazines of provision, and such were not to be found, while the interruption of tillage, and mutual devastation, continued the dearth. Yet an anecdote of

singular barbarity, recorded of the English garrison of Carrickfergus, should not be passed by. Holding out against Edward Bruce to the last extremity, among other expedients “to glut their frantic rage,” (Leland’s polite phraseology) they eat eight Scotch prisoners! Whether they eat them dead or alive, roast, boiled or raw, our authorities do not inform us; but national hatred seems to have contributed to a cannibal act, which no pressure of want could justify in a besieged garrison, though besieged by Scotchmen, since they could relieve themselves by capitulation.

Here it is proper to review the plausible pretences, with which the Pope and the king of England varnished over the iniquitous bargain of the sale of Ireland, for the tribute of hearth-money to the see of Rome. The Island of saints was to be reformed and civilized—religion was to be promoted! What religion? The purest branch of the catholic church they were; the most truly pious, hospitable, charitable, generous, frank, manly, heroic even in the highest flights of chivalrous honor. Ah! but they did not allow the head of the church temporal power. By whom, then, was the purity of the catholic faith in Ireland to be adulterated, under pretence of reform, with the profane mixture of temporal and spiritual power? From cotemporary writers of their own nation we learn, that they were indigent and profligate men, of ruined characters, broken fortunes, in debt or disgrace, to whom any risque or perilous adventure was

more expedient than to remain at home. From their first landing, these greedy blood-thirsty adventurers described their own characters in deeds of matchless perfidy, atrocity, and rapine. The murder of prisoners of war, the perfidious invitations to murderous banquets, where poison or the dagger terminated the existence of the inveigled guests; assassinations of illustrious men; the murder of the Irish clergy, and plunder of churches and monasteries: to which, when they added cannabilmism, bestiality, and sodomy, they give the hideous character of the monsters who were to reform the Island of saints, and plant popery instead of catholicity. But the Milesians, true to the catholic faith, would admit no innovation. Some protestant writers have deceived themselves, and endeavoured to deceive others, from this circumstance, into a belief, that the antient Irish were Bible Christians, some sort of Protestants. They were Catholics, in the true strict sense of that word, who allowed the pope spiritual, but not temporal supremacy. From this rock, no seduction or coercion, not all the efforts of popish England first, nor of protestant England afterwards, could drive them. How different were the pretended reformers of the holy island? Like a pendulum, swung from the perpendicular point of equipoise to the extreme of popery, they were as easily swung to the opposite point of heresy; in whose inextricable mazes they still continue, tremulous, quivering, shifting, changing, without a fixed point of cohesion or repose.

Notwithstanding the damning evidences of the immorality, treachery, and inhumanity, of these infamous marauders, the pope supported their usurpation with the misapplication of his spiritual power, and sent his mad bulls roaring through Europe against the sacred island and its defenders. The settlers, in the mean time, had recourse to other means, which proved more efficacious. From their first conflicts with the Irish they observed, that the fall of a chief would determine the fate of a battle. The Irish, individually the best soldiers in the world, yet collectively only a mob, for want of pay, and consequently of discipline, were held together alone by reverence for the chieftain, whose election depended on his talents, and chiefly military talents. His fall, therefore, destroyed the sole connecting link, and his followers fled. This piece of English policy explains the catastrophe of Edward Bruce, hitherto unconquered. He marched upon some secret expedition to Foghard, the birth-place of St. Brigid, within two miles of Dundalk, with about 3000 men. The deputy dispatched an army from Dublin, under the command of Sir John Bermingham, to oppose him. The two armies met at the forementioned place, where a furious engagement commenced, in which Bruce lost his life, and the greater part of his little army was slain. A trait, discovering the cloven foot of English policy, appeared in this battle. A conspiracy was made to single out the monarch of Ireland, and kill him, at all hazards, cost what it would. The writers

of the Pale, to gloss over this dark transaction, state, that captain John Maupas singled him out, while he was engaged with others, and stabbed him; adding, that their two dead bodies were found by each other, when the battle was over. Walsingham and Baker state, that he was taken prisoner, and that his head was cut off, contrary to the law of nations, and sent as a present to the king of England, who in recompence created Bermingham earl of Louth, and baron of Athenry. This latter title he obtained by his victory over the Conacians, obtained by a similar military assassination of the chieftains, O'Connor and O'Kelly. It was probably the frequency of this practice, that obliged kings, who originally commanded their own armies, to keep body-guards.

The unfortunate issue of the Scotch and Irish confederacy, does not authorize us to echo the language of those writers, who call it wild and romantic. We rather agree with Abercromby, that if the military impetuosity of Edward was tempered with the superior prudence of his brother, he had remained king of Ireland. Had he been counselled by him, and waited for his arrival with a respectable force, victory could hardly be doubtful. Jealousy of sharing expected glory with any one, precipitated his fall; and Robert arrived with an army, only to hear of his death, and return home.

The disastrous consequences to Ireland, of this three years war, are fairly enough delineated by Leland; for the support whereof, “the

revenue of the land [the Pale] was far too short, and yet no supply of treasure was sent out of England.”*

“ The dismal effects of war, especially in a country circumstanced as Ireland was at this time, are not to be estimated solely by the troops lost in battle, or the towns taken: those which history deigns not to record were yet more afflicting and extensive. The oppression exercised with impunity in every particular district; the depredations every where committed among the inferiour orders of the people, not by open enemies alone, but those who called themselves friends and protectors, and who justified their outrages by the plea of lawful authority; their avarice and cruelty, their plunderings and massacres, were still more ruinous than the defeat of an army, or the loss of a city. The wretched sufferers had neither power to repel, nor law to restrain or vindicate their injuries. In times of general commotion, laws the most wisely framed, and most equitably administered, are but of little moment. But now the very source of public justice was corrupted and poisoned. The distinction maintained between the Irish fœdary and the English subject, and the different modes of jurisdiction by which each was governed, every day demonstrated, by its miserable effects, the iniquity of those who had favoured this horrid and infatuated policy.

“ The murder of an Irishman was punishable

* Davies's Discovery.

only by a fine; a slight restraint on the rage of insolence and rapine.”*

“ The compendious Irish† method of quartering the soldiers on the inhabitants, and leaving them to support themselves by arbitrary exactions, seemed to have been pointed out by the urgent occasion, was adopted with alacrity, and executed with rigour. Riot, rapine, massacre, and all the tremendous effects of anarchy, were the natural consequences. Every inconsiderable party, who, under pretence of loyalty, received the king’s commission to repel the adversary in some particular district, became pestilent enemies to the inhabitants. Their properties, their lives, the chastity of their families, were all exposed to barbarians, who sought only to glut their brutal passions; and by their horrible excesses, saith the annalist, purchased the curse of God and man. The English freeholder abandoned his lands, rather than endure the burden of impositions intolerably severe, attended with such dreadful circumstances of outrage: he fled to the haunts of the Irish insurgents, connected and allied himself with these, learned their language and manners, and marched out with them against the common enemy; while his lands were resumed by the barbarous natives as their original and rightful property.

“ The same method of arbitrary exactions, (or coyne and livery, as it was called,) for the maintenance of the soldiery, was also adopted by

* Leland, Vol. I. B. II. c. iii. pp. 278, 279.

† For the Irish bonaght see pp. 144, 145, 146.

lords of considerable note and consequence; and particularly, began at this time to be exercised with great severity, by Maurice Fitz-Thomas of Desmond.”*

The reader must smile with contempt at the contradictions of this barbarous Leland, struggling between truth and prejudice. After stating that English freeholders fled from the intolerable tyranny of their own countrymen, took refuge among the Irish clans, whom they were taught to hate as natural enemies, and found that humanity and protection among them, that they did not experience from their own nation, as if impatient to escape from these sour truths, and revenge the pain he felt from the narrative on the unfortunate Milesians, he immediately adds, “while his lands were resumed by the barbarous natives.” Did the fugitive carry his lands on his back, that the people to whom he fled should seize on them? Is it not self-evident, that the people, from whose tyranny he fled, seized on his lands? These tyrants might plant barbarous natives on the abandoned freeholds; because the degenerate Irish, who conformed to the manners of the settlers, and became followers of English lords, were real barbarians, rather worse than the settlers themselves; for this reason, the corruption of the best things is the worst, and the strongest wine, by acetous fermentation, makes the strongest vinegar. The English freeholders, who are stated by him, to have abandoned their

* Leland, Vol. I. B. II. c. iii. pp. 280, 281.

freeholds, and taken refuge among the Irish clans, learning their language, and conforming to their manners, must have had a feeling trial of the barbarity of their own race, and considered the Milesians as far superior to them, in humanity and generosity. What sacrifices did they not make by this exchange? Loss of property; the sacrifice of predilection for natal soil; the conquest of deep-rooted antipathy, and inveterate prejudices, against the antient natives, upheld by the laws, cruel policy, and savage warfare of the settlers; the sacrifice of their language and manners, things to which mankind are peculiarly wedded; the risque of committing themselves and families to the mercy of enemies, thus incessantly provoked and injured, by a combination of treachery and cruelty; the romantic hope of finding support and protection, from these very ulcerated enemies. Their choice of residing among the antient natives, in defiance of these losses, difficulties, and dangers, demonstrates which party they considered civilized, and which barbarous. As cotemporaries, eye witnesses, taught by experience, they are better evidence than any prejudiced writer, however smooth his periods may flow. Their experiment and success is the highest evidence of the hospitality and generosity of the Milesians, even in their decline; and that it was to acquire a more tolerable state of society they made the great sacrifices enumerated above. That emigration from the tyranny of Anglo-Irish barons, and their suite, was not confined to the period of the

Bruces, but existed from their first settlement in Ireland, is pretty clear, from an article in the treaty* of Windsor, obtained by the settlers to guard against it.

The country thus tranquillized, i. e. depeopled by plague, war, and famine, cum solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant, Thomas Fitz-Gerald, earl of Kildare, was entrusted with the government of the Pale. Hitherto the English adventurers were intent on exterminating and plundering the natives, lay and ecclesiastic. They had, in imitation of their Danish forefathers, destroyed and plundered many an Irish monastery, seats of learning and virtue, and planted some convents for English ecclesiastical adventurers, poisoned with the national hatred and selfishness of their lay brethren, without adding any thing to the cause of learning or religion. Bricknor, archbishop of Dublin, is an honorable exception to the general inattention of the Anglo-Irish to literature. He obtained a bull from Pope John XXII., in confirmation of one already granted by Clement V. for the erection of an university. St. Patrick's church, Dublin, was chosen as the site for the college, anno 1320, which was established by the zealous patronage of the bishop, Bricknor. Studies were continued there untill Edward III., who enlarged the original endowment, and by special writ granted his protection and safe conduct to the students, thirty-eight years after the first establishment,

* See Article IV. pp. 30, 31.

The good intentions of the founders and patrons of this institution, were frustrated by the circumstances of the times, and the dispositions of the people. Learning was quite unfashionable among the English and Anglo-Irish barons. The latter especially, always engaged in war, paid no attention to letters, except such as were styled degenerate Englishmen. These studied the Irish language, the most copious, and one of the most elegant in the world, and cherished bards and antiquarians.

Learning, though obscured, was not extinct in the Irish countries, where schools and professors were still continued. The Milesians had always their philes, ollavs, sruhs, seanchies, bards, &c. while the university, established in the capital of the colony, after languishing for a while, expired. This contrast places in the clearest light, the disparity of the two races, in point of civilization.

The enmity of the two races, fomented by the policy of England, extended to every thing. As the English Franciscans, Dominicans, &c. of the Pale, admitted no mere Irish novices, some convents of the antient stock excluded English novices; as appears from a register in the Tower of London, recording an instance of national antipathy, in the refusal of the abbey of Mellifont, county of Louth, to admit novices of English descent.

At an election of a bishop for the see of Cashel, the dean, together with the greater number of the canons, elected John Mac Carwill, bishop

of Cork; another party of the canons elected Thomas O'Lonchi, archdeacon of the same see. This contested election was referred to the Pope; who, in complaisance to the king of England, to whom Mac was disagreeable as well as the big O, excluded both candidates, and named to the see of Cashel, William Fitz-John, bishop of Ossory. Why the different popes favoured all the encroachments of the English on the antient Irish, especially if, according to Abbé Geoghegan, Pope John XXII. remitted the tribute of Peter's-pence, I see but one fact that explains. The English admitted popery, i. e. the pope's temporal power, in its fullest extent. The antient Irish, and they almost alone, constantly opposed it; which may partly account for the alliance of the two potentates against them, and the willingness of the holy father to concur with the English monarch, in rejecting the ôs and maes, and filling the sees with staunch English papists, instead of Milesian catholics.

From different acts of Pope John XXII., commonly called Pope Joan, by English protestants, he seemed to have been much wedded to English interests. For he bestowed on Edward II. a tenth of all ecclesiastical incomes within the king's Irish territories, for two years, and to be levied by the dean and chapter of Christ-church, Dublin. The prelates and clergy of the Pale, unwilling to contest the pope's authority, in imposing this heavy income tax, lest they should invalidate the basis of their own encroachments on livings founded by Milesians, had recourse

to evasion. They insisted on seeing the pope's original bull, before they would pay the tax.

It is rather unfortunate for the pretensions of those people, who came to Ireland, as they held forth, to reform morals and religion, that they left so many specimens of their barbarity and ignorance. “ Richard Ledred (Leatherhead) bishop of Ossory, a man of violent passions, and a proud and vindictive spirit, contrived, from what private motive or provocation doth not appear, to raise such confusion in his diocese as soon engaged the attention of the whole island. A woman of some distinction, called Alice Ketler, with her son and some of her dependents, were accused of witchcraft in his spiritual court. One of these dependents was condemned and executed, the son confined in prison; the lady, though the charge could not be clearly established against her, yet, on a new accusation of heresy, was tried, convicted, and condemned to the flames. Arnold de la Poer, one of the magistrates of Kilkenny, who espoused the cause of these unhappy culprits, was also charged with heresy by the bishop; he appealed to the chief justice, the prior of Kilmainham, who countenanced and protected him: the insolent prelate instantly extended his accusation to the justice, who now found it difficult to secure himself, and left his wretched client, De la Poer, to expire in prison. A new weapon was thus found, to execute the private revenge of individuals, and aggravate the public calamities. Heresy was a word of horror, even to those who were every day breaking through

the most sacred bonds of religion and humanity. The oppressor, the ravager, the murderer, was zealous to approve himself a true son of the church, and to execute her vengeance on all her enemies. Adam Duff, a man of a considerable Irish family in Leinster, was seized and burnt for heresy. His offence was aggravated by a charge of horrid and senseless blasphemy; just as Ketler had her sacramental wafer impressed with the devil's name, and an ointment to convert her staff into a witch's vehicle. At length, the mischief, thus spread abroad, reverted upon its author. The bishop of Ossory himself was, by his metropolitan, formally accused of heresy, and obliged to make a precipitate retreat, and to appeal to the apostolic see, leaving his country free from the miserable consequences of folly and superstition operating in favour of personal animosity and revenge."* The ecclesiastical history of the Island of Saints was never stained by such disgraceful samples of superstition and barbarity.

War was still carried on between the Scotch and English, and the catastrophe of Edward Bruce contributed not a little to foment it. The Scotch pushed their conquests as far as York. They afterwards laid siege to Berwick; which was delivered to them, by the treachery of Spalding, the governor, and of other English, who were there in garrison. The king of Scotland hanged them, for having betrayed their country;

* Ieland, Vol. I. Book II. c. iv. p. 287.

in order to teach posterity, that, if treason is useful, traitors ought to be detested. The Scotch having gained many other advantages over the English, Edward, finding himself in no condition to maintain the war, concluded a truce of two years, some say of thirteen.

Of all the kings who reigned over England since the Conquest, Edward II. was the most unfortunate, and the least deserving the bad treatment he experienced from his revolted subjects, and from his nearest connexions. He never ground his subjects, nor attempted on their privileges. His principal failing was, too much affection for his favourites. He had a tender and generous heart, a rare quality among the people whom he had the misfortune to govern. Young Spencer, who had succeeded Gaveston in the good graces of the king, was cut in quarters, after his father, aged ninety years, had been butchered in the same barbarous manner. His single crime consisted in the love of his monarch, unable to protect him. The king himself fell a sacrifice to the barbarous malice of his enemies. Those who, by the ties of nature, blood, and honor, should have sacrificed their lives for his, were his most cruel persecutors. The queen herself, with a brutal and ferocious nobility, carried on war against him, took him prisoner, and confined him in a dungeon, withholding from him, not only comforts, but necessaries. The states were then assembled, to extort a solemn abdication of the crown, in favour of his son; a formality then judged necessary, for disposing of

the crown, which has since been omitted in similar circumstances. This ceremony finished, his foot-guards, thought too much attached to him, were removed, and he was delivered into the hands of two infamous ruffians, Sir Thomas de Gourney and John Mattrevers, who were sold to his enemies. They destroyed him with most cruel torments, driving a red hot iron through his fundament into his bowels. Such was the genius of the English of that day; and their characteristic cruelty frequently manifested itself since. 'Tis said, that Mortimer, to encourage these monsters to the commission of this parricide, sent them in a letter the following equivocation, composed by Adam Toleton, bishop of Hereford, *Edvardum occidere nolite timere bonum est*; which may be rendered thus in English, "Slay Edward not to fear is good." The sense depends on punctuation. If a comma follow Edward, 'tis a command to kill; if it follow the negative not, 'tis a prohibition. Mortimer, after having been created earl of March, was condemned to be hanged, for concluding a shameful treaty of peace with the Scotch, from whom he received presents; for having caused the death of the late king, and living too familiarly with Isabelle, the queen-dowager; and lastly, for having plundered king and people. He was executed at Tyburn, in 1380, and was gibbeted two days.

This is the guilty culprit, whom Cox, one of the most impudent liars who ever put pen to paper, calls the rightful proprietor of Leix,

in the Queen's county. " Lord Mortimer being obliged, whether by inclination or the necessity of his affairs, to repair to England, gave the superintendance of his estates in Leix to an Irishman, by name O'Morra. In process of time the Irishman made himself proprietor, and kept possession a long time. He even still pretends a right to it, though his pretensions are only founded on perfidy and ingratitude."* Cox could not be ignorant of what every novice in Irish history must know, that the O'Moores, descended from Conall Cearnach, chief of the Ulster chivalry, were owners of that land, not alone before the coming of the English, but before the mission of St. Patrick; and, after the coming of these exterminators, held possession, at the point of the sword, with various issue, sometimes dispossessed, but as often recovering possession, by the valour of their arm, untill the unexampled perfidy, and inhuman cruelty, practised upon that noble and brave clan, by the bloody and treacherous government of Philip and Mary.

A lover of truth, unacquainted with facts, may here be staggered, and ask himself, whether the character of the English invaders of Ireland be truly and impartially drawn? Let him also put this question to himself, Whether the character of the English, Irish, or Scottish nation, is to be estimated, from the patterns sent to Botany bay? or the character of the Spanish nation to be appreciated, by the murdering marauders

* Cox's Hist. of Ireland, an. 1326.

who assisted Cortes in the subjugation of Peru and Mexico? Las Casas, the humane priest, who espoused the cause of the injured South Americans with enthusiasm, was a Spaniard, as well as their destroyers. We must agree with O'Neil's Remonstrance to the Pope, that the English nation, residing in England, was by no means so corrupt and abominable as the adventurers, who came thence into Ireland, with the authority of the Pope and of England's king, under pretence of reforming the nation.

Historic impartiality here demands, in addition to the foregoing reflections, shewing that the English ought not to be judged by the indigent profligate adventurers vomited on the Irish coast, that the causes should be brought forward of the very different temper of the antient and modern English towards the Milesian Irish. The Anglo-Saxons, long allies of the Irish against the Roman empire, at the invitation of the antient Britons, landed in South Britain, (afterwards called England, from their name,) and drove the Irish Scots from that part of the island. But, as Horace observes, with regard to the civilization of the Romans, *Grecia victa, ferum victorem cepit, et artes intulit agresti Latio*.*

Horace, like the rest of his countrymen, was ignorant of the word *Latium*. They are only the descendants of the mighty genius, who invented the alphabet, established the first university after the Flood, on the plains of Shinaar, in Chaldea,

* Greece subdued, captivated the ferocious conquerors, and introduced arts into rustic *Latium*.

and planned the construction of a language, containing the radicals of all the dialects produced by the miraculous confusion of tongues, who can explain that, and every thing else belonging to antiquity and language. The Laithe, or marshes, called by the modern Italians, padule pontine, which Roman emperors endeavoured to drain, and Pope Pius VI. lived to accomplish, was the first refuge of the runagates and robbers, who afterward built the fortress of Rome. The partial civilization, communicated to them barbarians from Greece, they could not trace to its source. They did not know, that the descendants of Phenius, in their emigration from Egypt to Greece, were the very men, who imparted to them the use of letters, and the rudiments of all the arts. The terms of the arts, which Greek ingenuity could never explain, are imperishable demonstrations of the source; because the terms, and the arts, accompany each other. Let ignorance and prejudice open the yawning grin of ridicule, at this bold, but true assertion. The means of demonstration are not wanting; and, if the means of publication were at hand, a blaze of irresistable light would issue from the sacred island, that would astonish the learned world, confound obstinate dulness, and delight the curious searchers of truth. Phenius Redivivus is a tribute due to the memory of the illustrious ancestor of the Gathelians, whom Livy, though acquainted but with a small part of his abilities, justly calls, *divinum ingenium*. A divine genius he surely was. His posterity, in Ireland, have

still, with filial piety, retained his original alphabet unaltered; while his other descendants, Phenicians, Persians, Hindoos, and Thibetans, have admitted an adulterated mixture. Neither did the Greeks or Romans retain the original; but the former adopted, from the corrupted Syrian alphabet, during their war with Troy, some abbreviations for letters; such as p and s, changed to psi; s and c, called by them xi, and by the Latins ex. The Gathelian branch of his descendants did more. They preserved the language of his contrivance and construction; a monument of his genius, more astonishing to me than the invention of the alphabet itself. The plan was surprising: the execution admirable. It yet stands, monumentum ære perennius, the imperishable record of the miraculous confusion of tongues, the bulwark of revealed truth. All the exertions of tyrannic barbarity, or native treachery, against it, are fruitless; strong is the arm that has and will uphold it. A man, possessed of this incomparable language, could teach Moses Hebrew, Aristotle Greek, and Cicero Latin. The demonstration of this I have in my hand, without labour or study, but by way of amusement, to which opposition would be vain. The descendants of this great man imparted the most valuable discoveries to the human race. The branch in Inisfail was not idle. They imparted letters and civilization to all the nations in Europe. Even the frozen region of Iceland still preserves the Ira leter, i. e. Irish letters; and Runic, i. e. secret characters. To the northern

conquerors of the Western empire they gave Christianity and learning; and the name of Gillemer, i. e. Servant of Mary, king of the Vandals, in Africa, points the nation, whose missionaries converted and baptized him. They neglected not their neighbours, the Anglo-Saxons. To them they dispensed religion, letters, and arts, as we have recorded by their own testimony, Venerable Bede, Alfred the Great, Cambden, Littleton. “Multitudes of English youth, fed, clothed, and instructed gratis, in the holy island, an honorable testimony,” says the latter, “to the learning and hospitality of the antient Irish.” True; but how were they rewarded afterwards!

In order to set the character of the contending races in the clearest light, it is necessary to continue mining the fountains of the great deep, for the discovery of the links, that connect the chain of cause and effect. Britain had received Christianity before the Saxon conquest; but the animosity between them and the antient Britons must account, either that the one would not labour for the conversion of their conquerors, or that the latter would not listen to their instructions. The task of converting and civilizing them was left for the Milesian Irish; of which honor, the Pope’s influence, by local prejudices, endeavoured to deprive them.

A striking difference of character, between the antient Britons and the Milesians, is conspicuous, from the contrast of the conversion of Saxons and Danes. The hostility between the antient Irish and Danes was more virulent, and

of longer continuance, than that between the old inhabitants of south Britain, and their overbearing invited allies. Yet, after one fourth of Ireland completely and irretrievably discomfitted the conquerors of France and England, under the great Brien Boroive, they communicated to them Christianity and civilization. How was this conquest of national antipathy, embittered by the furious hostility of ages, accomplished? Certainly, by no other weapons but piety and social virtue. So effectually were they civilized, domesticated, and naturalized, in the establishments conceded to them in Ireland, that they entrusted their spiritual and temporal concerns to some of the antient natives, Laurence O'Tool, archbishop of Dublin, to wit. Could they trust them in better hands? Against the settlement of their barbarous brethren from Normandy, they made the most strenuous opposition. The conduct of the Danes of Wexford may stand as one instance for all. Like the Athenians, who, by the persuasion of Themistocles, abandoned the city, and took refuge in islands and ships, the Wexfordians, at the approach of the English, set fire to the town, and sheltered themselves in the island of Beg-Erin, in the bay. How came the Norman Danes, settled in England by the Conquest, to be more ferocious and uncivilized, than the Saxons and Danes resident in Ireland? They had not the advantage of a civilizing intercourse, like the others. They had an hereditary detestation of the Milesians, for the many humiliating defeats they experienced from them.

To elucidate further the peculiar virulence of these invaders, some unopened sluices of information must be tried. The Lochlins, who infested Europe with piracy, plunder, and devastation, during centuries, embraced a greater extent of territory than Denmark; for they were inhabitants of all the countries bordering on the Baltic, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, part of Russia, Poland, and the north of Germany. They were divided by the Irish into two casts, Duv Ghall, and Finghall. Religion lent features of unexampled atrocity and cruelty to their wars, which were in the beginning religious crusades, formed by religious hatred. Here the impolicy of religious persecution is demonstrated by facts. Charlemagne, the greatest man of his age in body and mind, was yet a bigot. During his thirty years war with the Saxons, i. e. the north of Germany, his conduct more resembled the maxims of the Alcoran than those of the Gospel. He left his prisoners of war no other alternative than baptism or death. This breach of the law of nations, coupled with bigotry, drove the northern heathens to madness. They projected a crusade against Christian countries, put to sea in all the havens of the Baltic, and took a terrible revenge for the intolerable cruelty of the French emperor. The clergy, secular and regular, were the first objects of their vengeance, which set churches, monasteries, and universities in a blaze. As if to put the antichristian practice of persecution to shame and confusion, they retaliated on France what they suffered from the emperor; and, in

spite of that potent monarchy, wrested from it the large province of Normandy, whence they invaded England, and afterwards Ireland, under the borrowed name of English.

In perusing the momentous epoch of the election of Bruce to the monarchy of Ireland, a discerning reader will perceive the deception, false colourings, and fictions, of Leland, and his kindred libellers of the Pale. The settlers are with them the heroes of the drama. All the Irish princes are stated as having declared for Bruce; yet, wonderful to tell, the Anglo-Irish, fewer by far in number, with their degenerate Irish villains, defeated and dispersed the puissant confederation of Scotland and Ireland, as with a conjuror's wand, presto, allegremento, subito. The English were able to revive the hereditary rivalry of the north and south; and, though a candidate for the principality of Thomond invited Edward to Munster, he found the forces of Thomond, the renowned Dalgaissians, the Desmonians, and the English, in formidable array against him. Of this I was aware; but unwilling to bring forward the fact, untill I put my finger on the unquestionable authority of the annals of Innisfallen. *Iar chonarc do sluagh Geil agus Gallaiv.* Nevertheless, the Scotch and northern Irish, though inferior in number, offered battle on the plains of Saingil, which the combined army of the south, English and degenerate Irish, declined; by reason of a prophecy, portending the overthrow of the English on that spot.

The terror of this invasion being over, the

English lords, not unlike the Irish princes after the fall of the monarchy, quarrelled among themselves. A trifle was sufficient to kindle the flames of war, in which the degenerate Milesians were, of course, the chief victims and sufferers, *quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi*.

Edward III. called Edward of Windsor, from the place of his nativity, who was crowned by Reginald, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1327, was too much occupied with his wars against France and Scotland, to give any attention to his Irish domain; and the chief settlers carried on their projects of ambition or revenge, regardless of his deputy. Maurice Fitz-Gerald of Desmond, feeling hurt at the nickname of Rymer, given him by Arnold Poer, (now Power,) resolved to avenge the affront with the sword. He drew into his quarrel the Butlers and Berminghams, and carried on war against the Poers, and their allies, the Burkes. The latter were defeated with great slaughter, the survivors dispersed, and obliged to take refuge in Connaught, while their habitations and lands were ravaged and laid waste.

The earl of Kildare, the king's justiciary, in vain interfered with his authority, to quell these civil wars. On an appointed day, he cited the two parties to appear before him; but Poer, whether conscious of guilt, or suspicious of partiality, disobeyed the citation, and fled to England. His flight did not put an end to the disorders occasioned by him. The confederates continued to spread devastation and terror so far,

that towns, neutral in this private war, dreading the storm, began to fortify themselves. The confederates began at length to be alarmed at the ravages they had made, and the preparations of the king's towns, lest they should be considered as rebels; they sent word to the earl of Kildare, that their arms were not directed against the king and his towns, but merely to take vengeance of their enemies; and that they were willing to appear before him at Kilkenny, to justify their conduct.

The cause of Fitz-Gerald's superiority in this conflict is not so much as hinted, by any writer on this period; yet it is not difficult to see, that Poer's injudicious affront increased the popularity of Desmond, for his encouragement of Irish literature and bards, the best recruiting sergeants; with the enthusiastic fervour of their strains, on the tuneful lyre, the southern Milesians made common cause with them and with Desmond.

The Irish of Leinster, taking advantage of the civil wars of their invaders, proclaimed Donald, son of Arthur Mac Murchad, descended from the antient royal family, king of that province. He carried his arms to the walls of Dublin; but his reign was of short continuance. At a battle near this city, in which he was fighting valiantly, at the head of new subjects, the English had recourse to their accustomed policy, made a set at him, took him prisoner, and confined him in the tower. For this truly English exploit, the gratification to Sir Henry Traherne

and Walter de Valle, was £110 sterling; a considerable sum for them times, when six pence was the value of an Irish Milesian of the Pale, and no eric for the murder of an Irishman from the Irish countries, denominated, in the style of the settlers, waste countries, i. e. lands, whose owners were considered as dead, to be seized by the invaders, whenever they had the power of exterminating the possessors, and enslaving the remnant escaped from the sword. The English, faithful to their original system of extermination, and the murder of prisoners of war, executed David O'Tool, whom they took by the same dishonorable methods of warfare. Mac Murchad was more fortunate; for he escaped by means of a cord, sent to him by Adam de Nangle, who was hanged for this generous unenglish action. The premium of John Wellesly, for the capture of David O'Tool, is not mentioned.

The chiefs of the settlers were aggrandizing themselves, in the same proportion as the native interest was on the decline. Burke, and Arnold Poer, who had fled from Ireland, to escape the fury of the Butlers, Fitz-Geralds, and Berminghams, were reconciled to each other, by a parliament held in Dublin for that purpose.

In the second year of Edward III., James Butler, son of Edmond, earl of Carrick, espoused the daughter of Edward I. In consequence of this alliance, he was created earl of Ormond, by the king, at a parliament held at Northampton. The county of Tipperary was erected into a county palatine, over which he was invested, with

royalties, franchises, military fiefs, and other privileges.

During the administration of Sir John Darcy, lord Thomas Butler, marched to West-meath, with a considerable force, with a view to subject and eject the antient proprietors. On the vigil of St. Laurence, he was met by Mac Geoghagan, at the head of his forces. A furious battle ensued, in which Butler lost victory and life, with many of his chief officers. O'Brien of Thomond, provoked by their encroachments, ravaged the English settlements in Tipperary.

These few advantages, gained by the Irish over their enemies, did not hinder the latter to cut each other down. John Bermingham, earl of Louth, with Peter his brother, Talbot, of Malahide, and 160 of their English followers, were massacred at Ballibragan, in the territory of Oriel, by the Savages, Gernons, and others of their own nation. James, son of Robert Keating, Lord Philip Hodnet, with Hugh Condon, and their followers, to the amount of 140, were treated as enemies, in Munster, by the Barrys and the Roches. The English of Meath, under the command of Sir Simon Genevil, made an inroad on the barony of Carbric, in the county of Kildare, but were defeated by the Berminghams, with the loss of 76 men.

Meanwhile the remnant of the ancient Irish of Leinster, were obliged to be constantly under arms, to resist their exterminators. But these were now too firmly established, and cast too deep roots, in three-fourths of Ireland, to be shaken

by the solitary, divided efforts of disunited clans. Yet some reprisals were here and there made on them. Philip Staunton was killed, and Henry Traherne made prisoner in his house at Kilbeg, by Richard, son of Philip O'Nowlan. This was soon after revenged on the territory of Foghard, in the county of Wexford, which was laid waste, by order of the earl of Ormond.

During the deputyship of Sir John Darcy, serious measures were adopted, to subdue the independent tribes of Leinster. The justice marched with an army towards Wicklow and Newcastle, against the O'Byrnes, who were retaliating on the English settlements. This expedition produced no other effect but effusion of blood on both sides. The justice, sensible of the impossibility of carrying on the war effectually with an empty treasury, desired, with the advice of his counsel, Maurice Fitz-Gerald, son of Thomas of Desmond, to take the command, and carry on the war at his own expence; for which he would be indemnified. He marched at the head of 10,000 men, most of them degenerate Irish, and subdued the Irish enemy in detail. He began with the O'Nowlans, whose country he burned. He treated the Mac Murchads in the same manner, took hostages from them, and re-took the castle of Ley from the O'Dempsies. He supported his troops by requisitions in provisions, clothing, and money, levied at discretion on the people. This oppressive method, by the English called *coyne and livery*, and *bonaght* by

the Irish, proved ruinous to the house of Desmond afterwards.

The Leinster Irish, seeing themselves without resource, a prey, marked out for destruction, petitioned the king, to admit them as his subjects, and place them under the government and protection of his laws. The king, as usual, referred the decision of this affair to his Irish parliament, who, as usual, rejected it. "We wish to be informed, if we can grant the premises, without injury to others; and we charge you to sound the inclinations of the magnates of that land, in our next parliament to be held there,"* was the language of Edward III. to his deputy. There was a parliament that year, which certified to the king, that the grant would be injurious to his and to their interests.

This impolitic, inhuman repulse, spread alarm among the native Irish, and roused the indignation of a long provoked and injured people. They now clearly saw, that the infernal policy, hitherto practised towards them, was to be perpetuated, by the united sanction of the English government and settlers. It was not only lawful, but laudable, to kill them and take their property. The perfidious invitation to the murderous banquet, where the dagger or poison concluded the repast, was a choice stratagem. The art of reviving hereditary feuds, and causing them to cut each other down, with their own weapons, was still better. To have a chosen body, for singling

* Davis's Hist. Rel.

out a chief of ability, on the day of battle, was an approved mode of warfare. “No Irishman was safe to enter a walled town, castle, or any settlement, belonging to these enemies.”* In short, they were now convinced, that they need not expect to be treated as human beings; but to be exterminated like wild beasts, on the original invariable plan of the English invaders. Resolved to avenge the national affront, of being refused the condition of subjection to the English government, and the protection of the laws, they rose up in arms, in different parts. Not that all the Milesians joined in this petition, but the repulse of those who did, gave all to understand, that they were to be treated like the Canaanites; and their whole race was chalked out for slaughter. Leland gives the following account of this war, with his usual inaccuracy, and contempt of historical truth.

“The resentment of the Irish, naturally violent, and now too justly provoked, broke out in an insurrection, projected with greater concert, and executed with more violence, than for some time had been experienced. O’Brien, the chieftain of Thomond, was chosen leader of the insurgents; and under his standard some powerful septs of Leinster determined to execute their vengeance. The flame of war soon raged in Meath, in Munster, in the fairest English settlements of Leinster: and the first successes of the Irish, which were not inconsiderable, inflamed their pride even to

* Sir John Davies’s Disc.

the most outrageous violence. In their triumphant progress, we are told, that they surrounded a church, where about fourscore persons of English race were assembled at their devotions; these wretches, too sensible of the cruelty of the enemy, and utterly hopeless of escaping their fury, petitioned only that the priest might be suffered to depart unmolested. But the merciless ruffians, instead of complying with this affecting supplication, were only provoked to make the priest the very first object of their cruelty. The Host, which he held forth, in hopes that the awful object might have some influence upon their minds, was torn from him, and spurned under foot; their weapons were plunged in him, and the church, with all the miserable people cooped up in it, destroyed by fire.”*

The term insurgent is here evidently wrong. In the language of the law, and the policy of government, the Irish clans were marked as Irish enemies, like any independent power at war; only with this difference, that the Irish, even while at peace with the Pale, were always stiled enemies, i. e. natural enemies to be exterminated. Indeed had the petitioning clans of Leinster been received as subjects, any rising afterwards might be called insurrection, whether just or unjust. But the war of a people not subjects, nor allowed to be such, by England or its Irish settlers, is ignorantly and foolishly called so.

The story he tells, about the massacre of 80

* Leland, Vol. I. Book II. c. iv. p. 290.

people in a church, the trampling on the host, and murder of the priest, requires better evidence than the assertion of so partial a writer. I see, indeed, Pryn on his margin; but he quotes not a word from him, in support of this story; and, if he did, any one ever so little acquainted with Irish affairs, will see how questionable the authority of English and Anglo-Irish writers is, on Irish barbarities; and be apt to class this tale of horror with Musgrave's affidavit fables on Irish cruelty. If any of the old stock could be guilty of such impiety and barbarity, the degenerate Irish, fighting against their kindred, under the earl of Desmond, who "exacted his coyne and livery with a detestable violence and oppression," were tutored in every species of inhumanity by their new masters. From them they could learn breach of treaty, murder of prisoners of war, perfidious invitations, the kiss of Judas, convivial murder of guests, invited for that very purpose; a contempt for every thing sacred, and violation of every moral duty, when their interest was concerned; the massacre of pious and learned Irish monks; the plunder of the sacred utensils of their altars; and the political foundation of convents, garrisoned with English monks, devoted to the devouring Moloch of English interest.

As he neither gives time, place, party, circumstance, or authority, for his shocking narrative, I pass over to some of his absurdities; for a writer, whose object is not historical justice, but such misrepresentations, and deceptive varnish, as may suit party purposes, must often detect

himself by contradictions and absurdities. This is the case with Leland, whose pages are not less at war with themselves than with truth.

Edward III. under pretence of invading Ireland, made great preparations, and obtained large supplies from parliament. The better to conceal his real designs against Scotland, he sent for the earls of Ulster and Ormond, Sir William and Sir Walter de Burgo, in order to concert the means necessary for his voyage and plan of operations. Further to cover his real views, he ordered all the ships in his part of Ireland to be seized, and conveyed to Holyhead, for the transport of troops; and issued another order, for the impressing of Welsh infantry, to attend him on his expedition to Ireland. To confirm the expectations of the public, he gave orders to all the officers, commissioned for his service in Ireland, to repair thither, without delay or excuse; “a country where the English had as yet but a partial, precarious, and disputed settlement.” Who can reconcile this with the term insurgents, any more than with Musgrave’s denomination of rebels? In the same page,* he says, “the Irish had never been subdued; nor was their country in a worse state, than at the accession of the king or his father.” Then they made war as independent potentates; whom, to stile rebels or insurgents, appertains only to the impudent brazen front of English historical liars, and their descendants.

That the partizans of English interest, whatever partial successes they may boast of, were worsted in this extensive war, excited by the villainous repulse of the old natives, petitioning to be admitted as the king's subjects, and in that quality to swear allegiance, and receive the protection of the law, is easily proved from Leland himself; for as soon as their expectation of the king's arrival failed, they were happy to conclude, what he calls a precarious and inglorious peace.

“ The only measure now taken for the regulation of Ireland, was, that precarious and inglorious one, of treating with the adversaries of government. The prior of Kilmainham was commissioned to enter into such conventions with all insurgents, both of the English and Irish race, as he should judge most expedient for the pacification of the realm, and the honour and interest of his master. The great lords received orders to assist him by their advice and countenance; and the sheriffs of the several counties and liberties were instructed, that the conferences to be held for this purpose should be protected, without damage or injury to any of the parties. Thus were the turbulent and disaffected taught their own real power, and the weakness and insufficiency of that government which attempted to controul them. Insidious accomodations were readily concluded; and a number of secret enemies admitted to the royal grace and favour, whose perverse dispositions were thus cherished, instead of being broken by a steady, firm, and rigorous authority.”

This is a clear acknowledgment of defeat. For it was not from motives of humanity or lenity, to a race, whom they marked out for extermination, that they would conclude one, so humiliating to English pride. It was truly inglorious, for the Milesians ever to conclude a peace with their systematic plunderers and exterminators, as long as they polluted with their presence the soil of the sacred island.

Another proof of defeat he furnishes, where he represents the deputy as suspecting the chiefs of the settlers to connive at the success of the Irish in this war. “ In the mean time, O’Brien, leader of the Irish insurgents, not yet subdued, found full employment, both for the English councils convened to devise the means of reducing him, and for the troops sent out to oppose him. Deliberations were held, and armaments prepared; but the leaders were divided, and their troops employed with little honour or advantage. Sir Antony Lucy, an English knight, appointed to the government, was astonished and provoked at the insolence of the Irish, and justly suspected that they must be secretly favoured and abetted by some great lords. He entered on his administration with a determined purpose to support the interests of his royal master, by a vigorous prosecution of the enemy, and a spirited opposition to the insolence and insidious practices of his insincere adherents of the English race. He summoned a parliament to meet at Dublin: his order was neglected, and the assembly inconsiderable. It was adjourned to Kilkenny; and here the

still decreasing number of attending members gave new occasion of suspicion. Intelligence was received of some considerable havock committed [victory gained] by the Irish. The governour imagining with good reason, and confirmed in his suspicion by sufficient evidence, that the enemy was secretly encouraged by some lords of English race, determined to strike at the very root of such abuse. He seized the earl of Desmond, Mandeville, Walter de Burgho, and his brother, William and Walter Bermingham. The evidence against William Bermingham was full and forcible: he was condemned and executed: his brother escaped only by his privilege as an ecclesiastic: Desmond, who had been obliged to submit to this rigorous governour, after a long confinement was discharged on great surety, and sent into England.”*

That O’Brien, and the independent Irish, were not subdued during that war, is manifest, from the “precarious, inglorious peace,” which gives the lie to “not yet subdued.” With his usual candour, he calls, in the next page, victory, “havoc.” Now havoc, from the root *catbhoc*, is only an affray, in its original sense; and a great havoc, attended by victory, deserves the name of a victory. In the usual spirit of contradiction, into which every narrator, shunning or disguising truth, is liable to fall, after furnishing incontestable evidences of the defeat of his favourites, he endeavours to overturn all he had said, by call-

* Leland, Vol. I. Book II. c. iv. p. 292, 293.

ing that peace, dictated by necessity, an “injudicious condescension”!

“ This injudicious condescension to the enemies of the English interest, was attended by an event of the utmost danger, and most pernicious consequences, that of the death of William, earl of Ulster, who was assassinated by his own perfidious servants at Carrickfergus. His countess, with her infant daughter, fled in the utmost consternation into England, and the vast demesnes of this illustrious family were left without any sufficient defender. By the law of England, the earl’s lands should have been seized into the king’s hands as guardian to the infant ward; but this law was of little force against the violence of old claimants. The Northern septs of O’Nial, in whom all national animosities were revived by this event, seized the occasion of recovering their antient power, rose suddenly in arms, passed the river Bann, and fell furiously upon the English settlers established by the family of de Burgho. Notwithstanding a brave and obstinate resistance, the persevering virulence of the Irish prevailed in a course of time, so as to extirpate the English, at least to confine them within very narrow bounds. And their extensive possessions now parcelled out among the conquerours, received the name of the Upper and Lower Clan-Hugh-boy; from their leader Hugh-boy O’Nial. In Connaught, some younger branches of the family of de Burgho intruded into the late earl’s possessions; of whom, two the most powerful contrived to divide the great seignory between them; and

conscious that the law of England must oppose this usurpation, and defend the rightful claim of the young heiress, they at once rejected the English law, renounced their names, language, apparel and manners, adopted those of the Irish, called themselves Mac-William Oughter, and Mac-William Eighter, that is, the Farther, and the Nether Mac-William, seduced their countrymen, settled in this province, by their pernicious example, and from thenceforward transmitted their possessions in the course of tainistry and gavel-kind.”*

With the veracity of a Richard Cox, he here states, that the territory of Clan-hugh-boy O’Neil had belonged to English settlers, untill O’Niall seized on it, during this great war. He forgot his previous statement, that “the English settlers of the north were instantly swept away by the confederate Scottish and Irish army, under Bruce.” The fact is, that the earl of Ulster was then first endeavouring to establish settlers in that district, and lost his life in the attempt.

Another proof of the victorious progress of the Milesian arms, during this just and necessary war, he furnishes unknown to himself, in this last quoted page. As the tide of victory favoured either of the races, many of the vanquished party thought it their interest to change their names and dress, and conform to the language, laws, customs and manners of the conquerors. Thus the Leinster clans, wearied with incessant war-

* Leland, Vol. I. B. II. c. iv. p. 295, 296.

fare, and distressed by their oppressors, petitioned for the English law; to understand which, and for to become subjects of the Pale, they must learn English; in which capacity, they, by a standing law, should adopt English surnames, language, dress, manners, and customs. This reason alone explains, why all the settlers of Connaught, at this period, adopted Irish laws, language, and surnames, as Mac William; and in Munster, as Clan-Morres, Mac Walter, and became Irish in every particular.

In the next page he furnishes a material witness, that the inglorious peace was not dictated by any "injudicious condescension" to the king's Irish enemies, whose blood they thirsted after, but by necessity. "It was found necessary to seize and confine two of the noble house of de la Poer. Nicholas Fitz-Maurice, of Kerry, who avowed his attachment to the Irish of Munster, was made prisoner by his kinsman Desmond, and confined for life; while Kildare, with equal vigilance and spirit, chastised the violence of those who had presumed to disturb the peace of Leinster";* i. e. of those who favoured the cause of the petitioners for subjection and personal safety.

The severe proceedings of king Edward, against the chief settlers, after this "inglorious peace," are overpowering demonstrations of the victories of the Thomonians and Dalgaissians, over the inhuman monsters, who would refuse to all descendants of Milesius, the condition of subjects, with safety to persons and property; but meant

* Leland, Vol. I. Book II. c. iv. p. 297.

to treat them, as if anathematized for destruction by heaven, in the manner of the Canaanites. The defence of the settlers furnishes proofs no less cogent.

“ But the rigorous measures now pursued by king Edward, served to damp the zeal of these nobles, to enflame discontents, and extend division yet further among all the lords of English race. The evils of a distracted state, local feuds and insurrections, violence and ravage, Englishmen renouncing their allegiance and revolting to the enemy, the enemy strengthened, emboldened, and enabled to return with double fury, and reassume those settlements from whence they had formerly been driven, were soon experienced in an alarming deficiency of revenue, highly inconvenient to a prince who now meditated his vast designs against France. Edward was necessitated to seek every resource for supplying his exhausted finances. He depended for some assistance from Ireland: he was disappointed: and possessed as he was with the glittering objects of his ambition, the disappointment was received with a passionate impatience. Not considering that his enormous schemes of conquest had been the very means of diverting his attention from his Irish interests, and consequently the occasion of the distresses of Ireland, and the disappointments he there experienced, he accused his servants and ministers, and denounced the terror of his resentment against all those whom he had employed in this kingdom. Conscious of his own power, and disdaining to

attend to the passions, tempers, and prejudices of his subjects, in a country where his mandate he conceived was more than sufficient to secure an immediate and implicit obedience, he at once resolved on the most violent and offensive measures.

“ He began with declaring, that all suspensions or remissions of debts due to the crown, either in his time or that of his predecessors (except those which had the sanction of the great seal) should be null and void; and the debts strictly levied without delay; in consideration, as he expressed it, of his necessities arising from the war he was to maintain upon the continent and other urgent affairs. Hence he proceeded to a more extensive and vigorous resumption of all grants made not by him only, but by his father. Those to the prior of Kilmainham, who had administered his government with vigour and fidelity, were specifically mentioned. The justices of the king’s bench and common pleas, Mountpesson and Baggot, were suddenly discharged from their offices. He not only dismissed Ashburne, another of his officers, but seized his estate. The deputy was forbidden to grant or alien any of the king’s lands without a strict inquisition into their circumstances and value. The treasurer of the exchequer, who claimed a privilege to dispose of small sums without voucher, was not only prohibited for the future, but obliged to account for such sums from the beginning of the present reign: he was forbidden to take rewards for indulging the king’s debtors; he was abridged of the power

of naming sheriffs, a power hitherto annexed to his office: his receipts of the king's rents were ordered to be open and public: and to complete the scheme of reformation, the deputy was directed to certify to the king in his chancery of England, the qualities, services, fees, number, and behaviour of all his officers in Ireland. But the most offensive and severe of these ordinances was not to be compared with one which crowned the whole intemperate conduct of the king, and afforded just ground of dissatisfaction to a people conscious of their own, and the merits of their ancestors, and too powerful, and too far removed from the seat of royalty to conceal their indignation. It is here inserted at large, that its spirit and purport may be more clearly apprehended.

“ The king, to his trusty and beloved John Darcy, justiciary of Ireland, greeting:

“ Whereas it appeareth to us and our council, for many reasons, that our service shall the better and more profitably be conducted in the said land, by English officers having revenues and possessions in England, than by Irish or Englishmen married and estated in Ireland, and without any possessions in our realm of England; we enjoin you, that you diligently inform yourself of all our officers greater or lesser within our land of Ireland aforesaid; and that all such officers beneficed, married and estated in the said land, and having nothing in England,

be removed from their offices; that you place and substitute in their room other fit Englishmen, having lands, tenements and benefices in England, and that you cause the said offices for the future, to be executed by such Englishmen, and none other, any order of ours to you made in contrarywise notwithstanding."

"Thus were the descendants of those who had originally gained the English acquisitions in Ireland, who had laboured in a long course of painful and perilous service to maintain them, who daily shed their blood in the service of their monarch, pronounced indiscriminately to be dangerous, and declared incapable of filling any, even the meanest department in administration. The degeneracy and disaffection of a number of subjects of the English race, considered in the most striking and offensive view, could only have warranted some secret resolutions of entrusting the affairs of government chiefly to others: but a formal, open, and general sentence of disqualification, was equally iniquitous and impolitic. A just prince could have been induced to it only by the severest misrepresentations; nor can it be reconciled to the plainest dictates of prudence, unless we suppose that Edward had been made to regard the country and the people he thus treated, with the most sovereign contempt.

"But whatever representations he had received, or conceptions he had formed of the old English inhabitants, they were too spirited to endure the loss of their lands, and their own

personal indignities with an abject resignation. The late emigrants from England triumphed over the old race, as if they had all forfeited their privileges, and were consolidated with those Irish who had been reduced by their arms. The old English, on the other hand, beheld the partiality shewn to those who boasted their English birth, with impatience and indignation. Jealousy and dissention were thus excited among those who still adhered to English government, and proved the mistaken policy of the king's procedure. The consequences were more alarming as the injured party of his Irish subjects were the more powerful, of more extensive influence, and better enabled to support the interests of government, or rather absolutely necessary to the very existence of the royal authority in Ireland. Essentially injured and wantonly insulted, they were soon agitated to that degree of ferment which threatens something violent and dangerous. The more powerful among them fomented the discontents of their inferiours; and where the interests of all were threatened, a common cause and general danger readily disposed them to a truly formidable combination. Their violences were so dreaded, that the chief governour deemed it necessary to summon a parliament at Dublin on this critical occasion.

“ This chief governour, Sir John Morris, was of no higher note or station than that of an English knight, and not distinguished either by his fortune or abilities. And the lords he was to govern, regarded it not as the least of those

insults they had sustained, that the king's authority should be delegated to so inferior a person. The spirited Geraldines were particularly irritated, and espoused the cause of their brethren the old English with extraordinary zeal. Their numerous adherents gave them consequence and power, and their consequence and power served to give countenance to these adherents, and encouraged them to an open and violent avowal of their dissatisfactions. Desmond, too proud and powerful to be attached to government by any other means but favour and flattery, flew through all his numerous partizans of the South, conferred with the nobility who were most attached to him, and practised with those cities and corporations in which he had the greatest influence. Kildare, his kinsman and associate, was equally provoked and equally active and industrious. So that at the time when the parliament was to meet at Dublin, Morris was alarmed at the intelligence of another independent assembly more numerous and respectable, convened by Desmond at Kilkenny. They stiled themselves the prelates, nobles, and commons of the land, were the more formidable as they affected to assemble peaceably, and prepared a remonstrance to be transmitted to the king.

“ The only account which the English annalists have given of their transactions, is,* that by a

“ * By their messengers, say these annalists, they proposed the following questions to the king.

“ How a realm of war could be governed by a man unskilful in all warlike service ?

few short strictures they intimated the notorious insufficiency of the present chief governour, as well as his rapaciousness and oppressions; impugning the distresses of the realm, and the deficiencies of the public revenue, to the pernicious conduct and counsels of the king's ministers. But we have a petition of the grievances of Ireland, together with the king's answers, among the close rolls of the sixteenth year of this reign, which seems pretty evidently to have been the act of this convention at Kilkenny; which assembled for the first time in this year, and was too formidable to be despised, or to have their representations passed over in contemptuous silence. It is said to be the act of the prelates, earls, barons, and commons of the land, without the usual addition of their being assembled in a parliament held at some particular time and place; and it contains such bold accusations of the king's ministers, and such insinuations against the chief governour himself, as seem not likely to have proceeded from an assembly convened by his authority, and possibly consisting for the most part, of that faction which opposed the old English settlers; favoured, and therefore influenced by the governour. But wherever it was framed, the petition must not pass entirely unnoticed, as it exhibits a distinct and striking view of the irre-

“How an officer under the king, who entered very poor, could in one year amass more wealth than men of large estates in many years?”

“How it chanced, since they were all called lords of their own, that the sovereign lord of them all was not the richer for them?”

gularities in administration, and the grievances which had for some time enflamed the public dissensions, and weakened the interests of the crown.

“ The petitioners begin with representing the total neglect of fortifications and castles, particularly those of the late earl of Ulster, in Ulster and Connaught, now in the king’s custody, but abandoned by his officers, so that more than a third part of the lands conquered by his royal progenitors were regained by the Irish enemy: and by their insolence on the one hand, and the excesses of his servants on the other, his faithful subjects are reduced to the utmost distress. Other castles, they observe, had been lost by the corruption of treasurers who withheld their just pay from the governours and warders; sometimes obliged them in their necessities to accept some small part of their arrears, and to give acquittances for the whole; sometimes substituted in their place mean and insufficient persons, contented with any wages they were pleased to allow; sometimes appointed governours to castles never erected, charging their full pay, and disbursing but a trifling part: that the subject was oppressed by the exaction of victuals never paid for, and charged at their full value to the crown, as if duly purchased; that hostings were frequently summoned by the chief governour without concurrence of the nobles, and money accepted in lieu of personal service; treaties made with the Irish, which left them in possession of those lands they had unjustly seized; the attempts

of the subjects to regain them, punished with fine and imprisonment; partial truces made with the enemy, which, while one country was secured, left them at liberty to infest the neighbouring districts; the absence and foreign residence of those who should defend their own lands and seigniories, and contribute to the public aid and service; illegal seizures of the persons and properties of the English subjects.—All these, with various instances of corruption, oppression, and extortion in the king's servants, were urged plainly and forcibly, as the just grounds of discontent.

“ But chiefly, and with particular warmth and earnestness, they represent to the king, that his English subjects of Ireland had been traduced and misrepresented to the throne, by those who had been sent from England to govern them; men, who came into the kingdom without knowledge of its state, circumstances, or interests; whose sole object was to repair their shattered fortunes: too poor to support their state, much less to indulge their passions, until they had filled their coffers by extortion, to the great detriment and affliction of the people; that notwithstanding such misrepresentations, the English subjects of Ireland had ever adhered in loyalty and allegiance to the crown of England, had maintained the land for the king and his progenitors, served frequently both against the Irish and their foreign enemies, and mostly at their own charges.

‘ As a reward of these services, say the petitioners, your progenitors, Sir, and you, have

granted by letters patent to diverse people of the realm, lands, tenements, franchises, wards, marriages, and pardons of debts, which, by virtue of such letters patent they have held in peaceable possession; till lately that your ministers by orders received from England, as they pretend, have resumed and taken into your hands what your progenitors, Sir, and you have so granted, as well what was granted for good and reasonable cause as otherwise; and this contrary to the tenour and intent of the aforesaid orders, to en-damage others for their own private emolument. Which things, Sir, seem to your liege subjects contrary to reason, as their ancestors and they have well deserved, and do deserve, by defending and maintaining, as much as in them lies, the dominion of the land to our use. For which, Sir, may it please you to ordain that they be not ousted of their freeholds without being called into judgment, according to the provision of the GREAT CHARTER.'

“ To the several grievances alledged, the answers of the king were now gracious and condescending; and particularly to this last article, he replied, that the grants of his progenitors should be restored without diminution; that those made in his own reign should also be delivered up on sufficient surety that they should be again surrendered, if on a legal inquisition they were found resumeable, as granted without just cause; and that the pardons of debts should be deemed valid, until the causes of such pardons should be duly tried.

“ Such condescensions were at this time the more necessary, as Edward prepared for his expedition into France, and now sent his letters to the officers of state in Ireland, intimating that he had already applied for succours to the principal lords of this kingdom, directing them to treat with these lords, and to use their utmost diligence to prevail upon them to lead or send their respective vassals into Bretany with all possible expedition.”*

The dissensions between the new adventurers from England, and the old settlers, was a just retaliation for their barbarous contempt of their betters, the antient Irish. The soil must partake of the disdain felt or affected for its inhabitants; and Irish birth must vilify the hoggish blood of Englishmen, in the minds of the boorish generation born in England. This is the principle of reaction, that predominates in the physical and moral world, the great law of retributive justice, “ Whatever measure you measure unto others, the same measure shall be measured unto you.” In the course of this history it will be seen, that every fresh swarm of adventurers, under a variety of denomination, have given their precursors the exact measure which those gave to the antient inhabitants.

Some may wonder why Edward, who fought with such success in France, did never attempt to realize his promise of attempting the conquest of Ireland. The advice of the earl of Essex to

* Leland, Vol. I. Book II. c. iv. p. 297, et seq.

queen Elizabeth, explains the guarded policy of England, with regard to the Milesians: "You must hide from their view all purpose of establishing English government, untill the strength of the Irish be broken." This was the policy of Henry II. and of all the kings for centuries after him, with one unfortunate exception in the case of Richard II. Edward was eye-witness of the astonishing agility, strength, and skill at arms, displayed by his Irish auxiliaries at the battle of Crécy, under the command of the earls of Kildare and Desmond. He thought it better to suffer them to waste each other gradually, by civil wars, than to unite them in a common cause, by avowing the design of conquering them. Leland allows, that "a want of concert and union, among the Irish, prevented them from demolishing the whole fabric of English power, by one general and decisive assault."*

But, if Edward carefully avoided the perilous undertaking of the conquest of Ireland, he did not neglect the means of preserving the English colony; which was more effectually secured by the civil broils of the antient Irish, than by the colonial regulations for its security and preservation. A parliament, convened at Kilkenny, by deputy Bermingham, granted a tax of two shillings on every carucate of land, ecclesiastical as well as secular, in support of the Irish war. The collection of this tax from church lands, was strenuously and successfully opposed, by

* Leland, Vol. I. Book II. c. v. p. 315.

the archbishop of Cashel.* Several ordinances were passed, tending to unite the settlers in one compact body, who should have but one peace and one war, and to reconcile them with adventurers of English birth. He sent his son, Lionel, duke of Clarence, son-in-law to the earl of Ulster, with 1500 men, to govern and defend the Pale. Lionel, and his army of English birth, manifested an impolitic contempt for the English settlers of Irish birth, very unsuitable to his station and views. He marched against O'Brien of Thomond, by whom he was out-generaled and defeated. The king of England issued two proclamations, one to the settlers, and another to the English nobility possessing property in Ireland, to join his son speedily, with all the troops they could collect. The command was urged under pain of forfeiture. With these reinforcements the advantages his flatterers and Anglo-Irish writers boast his having obtained, appear from undeniable facts to have been fictitious or exaggerated. The most effectual mode of securing the king's portion of Ireland, was found in the payment of tribute to some powerful chieftains, which the pride of Englishmen, and of their partizans, calls pensions. They may call them what they chuse; but, if annual sums, extorted at the point of the sword, be not tributes, I know not what a tribute is. Second fact. The

* This opposition of the archbishop is unjustly censured by Leland, because it was justified by the great charter granted to Ireland.— See Appendix. No. I.

extensive tracts recovered by the Irish of their ancient properties, is testified by the king's edict, stating the loss of scutage in these tracts.

After obtaining from the settlers, both lay and clerical, two years value of their incomes, Lionel departed for England. He was succeeded by the earl of Ormond, who shortly after surrendered the administration to Sir Thomas Dale. The post of deputy was found so perilous at that time, that few cared to keep it long. The duke of Clarence, tutored by experience, and his father's advice, came back as deputy, in 1367.

For the purpose of reforming the settlers, he convened a parliament at Kilkenny, where the barbarous statute, which enacted what follows, was passed. "Marriage, gossipred, nurture of infants—high treason! Irish name, language, apparel, any mode or custom of the Irish adopted by a settler—forfeiture of lands and tencements; or if he have no lands—imprisonment! Irish law—pernicious! Submission to its decision—high treason! To permit their Irish neighbours to graze their lands; to present them to benefices; to receive them into monasteries or nunneries—highly penal!" What excess of barbarous selfishness and national antipathy, towards a nation always renowned for hospitality, affability, courtesy to strangers, generosity and honor! whose eminent piety merited for their country the exalted title of The island of saints; and whose learning made it the mart of literature for Europe. Did the Algerines, did the Turks, did the most barbarous savages in the world, ever produce

any thing, so insulting to humanity, so ignorant, so cruel and absurd as this? To prohibit all manner of civility and intercourse, all the good offices of neighbourhood and friendship, between two people, inhabiting the same country, professing the same religion, and, from vicinage, frequently needing mutual assistance! What crime was in an Irish name, whether Paddy or Teague? What crime in learning a language, copious and elegant, while their own was an uncouth, barren jargon, and the language of a people with whom they must frequently converse, in spite of penal statutes? This was empaling the Pale from social life; forming an insulated Jewish cast, abhorring all, and abhorred by all. It was counteracting the law of nature, recommending a cross of breeds. It was warring against religion and morality, which commands the love of our neighbours, even of our enemies. It far exceeded the rigour of the Jewish pale, and had no such reasons to warrant it. The Jews were insulated from the neighbouring idolatrous nations, to guard them against idolatry. This English pale excluded the intercourse of a people better Christians than they, better men, more civilized. What crime could be in the melody of the Irish harp, chaunting the sweet strains of Erin's bards? Why should Irish learning and piety be excluded from benefices, founded by Irishmen, or from monasteries founded by them? The Norman conquerors passed no such statute in England, nor the heathen Danes in Ireland. Taken altogether, the popish penal code of the settlers exceeds the

protestant one, and has no parallel in any age or country. If all other monuments had perished, this alone would prove the barbarity, the wickedness, the perfidy, and absurdity of its contrivers. Behold the pretended reformers of the sacred island! These statutes, lasting monuments of the misanthropy of the framers, were a sufficient provocation to a high-spirited, gallant people, especially when aggravated by the incessant endeavours of the settlers to encroach by force or fraud.

Accordingly we find, that, shortly after the departure of Lionel, deputy Windsore was alarmed with the intelligence, that O'Brien and O'Connor took the field. The earl of Desmond, entrusted with the command of the English forces, met the Irish near the monastery of Mayo, where he lost the battle and his life; most of his followers were either slain or taken prisoners. Such terror did the Milesian arms inspire at this time, that those who received illegal grants of lands durst not come to claim them; and Sir Richard Pembroke, warden of the Cinque-ports, appointed deputy of Ireland, shuddered at the thoughts of so dangerous a situation, and declined it. Such were the natural fruits of overweening, selfish, misanthropic usurpation and tyranny. The severest blows, as yet experienced by the adventurers, were occasioned by the rejection of the Irish petition, to be treated as fellow men and christians, in the humble condition of subjects, and by the proscription statutes of Kilkenny.

Notwithstanding the misanthropic policy, ex-

hibited by the convention at Kilkenny, the settlers were more patriotic for the concerns of the narrow Pale, than the soi-disant parliament of Ireland for the whole Irish nation; and for this obvious reason, there were, among the former, none of those boroughs called rotten, neither pensioners or placemen to represent them. The effect of this appeared in an application of king Edward to the parliament of the Pale, for a liberal subsidy. Importuned by the parliament of England, which was weary of the burdensome support* of the English colony in Ireland; the necessary result of their own perverted policy, he sent Nicholas Dagworth as king's messenger to the Pale, demanding such supplies as the exigencies of the times required. Poverty was pleaded, and the supplies were refused. Irritated by this disappointment, he summoned the parliament of the Pale to London, to meet him and his council, for to deliberate on their common interests. Though they did not absolutely refuse the summons, their answers prove how sensible they were of their rights, and how much alive to the interests of their little commonwealth. The answer of the archbishop of Armagh, and of the county of Dublin, to this requisition, was as follows. " We are not bound, agreeably to the liberties, privileges, rights, laws and customs of the church and land of Ireland, to elect any of our clergy, and to send them to any part of

* According to Davis, it amounted to £11,000 yearly. A sum exceeding the total revenue of the Pale, which then amounted only to £10,000.

England, for the purpose of holding parliaments or councils in England. Yet, on account of our reverence to our lord the king of England, and the now imminent necessity of the land aforesaid, saving to us and to the lords and commons of the said land, all rights, privileges, liberties, laws, and customs before mentioned, we have elected representatives to repair to the king in England, to treat and consult with him and his council. Except, however, that we do by no means grant to our said representatives, any power of assenting to any burdens or subsidies, to be imposed on us or our clergy, to which we cannot yield, by reason of our poverty and daily expence in defending the land against the Irish enemy.” The whole Pale, though, out of complaisance to the king, they allowed their deputies to go to England, unanimously protested against their compliance to be taken as a surrender of their rights and privileges, or a precedent for alienating their legislative power, cautiously reserving to themselves the power of granting or withholding subsidies; so that their deputies, deprived of the power of taxation and legislation, might with more justice be called the king’s Irish council, than a parliament. “ The nobles and commons, unanimously, and with one voice declare, that, according to the rights, privileges, liberties, laws and customs of the land of Ireland, enjoyed from the time of the conquest of said land, they are not bound to send any persons from the land of Ireland to the parliament or council of our lord the king in England, to treat, consult, or

agree with our lord the king in England, as the writ requires. Notwithstanding, on account of their reverence, and the necessity and present distress of the said land, they have elected representatives to repair to the king, and to treat and consult with him and his council; reserving to themselves the power of yielding or agreeing to any subsidies." At the same time protesting, "that their present compliance is not hereafter to be taken in prejudice to the rights, privileges, laws and customs, which the lords and commons, from the time of the conquest of the land of Ireland, have enjoyed, in consideration of the various burdens which the said lords and commons have borne, and still do bear, and which for the future they cannot support—*nisi dominus rex manum suam melius apponere voluerit.*"*

"What was the result of this notable controversy, between Edward and his subjects of Ireland, or whether, or how far the king's necessities were supplied, we are not distinctly informed. It only appears that the Irish representatives sat at Westminster, and that their wages were levied on the dioceses, counties, and boroughs, which had chosen them."†

If the period of Irish history, since the invasion, hitherto has been mangled, defaced, and wilfully obscured, by partial writers: of the next reign, Richard II. they have left, instead of history, a romance or novel, without cohesion or

* Unless the king puts his hand to the work more effectually.

† Leland, Vol. I. B. II. c. v. p. 328, 329.

probability. One important fact, however, has been preserved, which proves that English policy in those days was more deep than it is now. Several acts had been passed against Irish absentees, who spent their incomes in England, to compel residence in Ireland, for the defence of their fortunes. In the reign of Richard II. the absentee act was renewed, and the tax augmented to two-thirds of their Irish revenues, in case of non-compliance, to be applied for the defence of the king's Irish domain; except those on the king's service, students, and those licensed under the great seal, who were taxed but one-third of their revenues. Richard besides allowed his Irish subjects to work mines, coin money, and trade with Portugal. For these favours the king expected some liberal return, to relieve the poverty of the English exchequer, drained by the long wars of his predecessor. With that intent he directed his Irish deputy, Roger Mortimer, earl of March, grandson of the duke of Clarence, to convene a parliament, and move for supplies. But the colony was so exhausted by its constant war with the aboriginal inhabitants, that nothing considerable was or could be given.

The history of the Pale continues to be of little interest, as well as that of the Irish countries, engaged as usual in petty hostilities, untill the landing of Richard II. The historians of the Pale fill this chasm with a piece of English history, concerning Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, the favourite of Richard II. The rise of that favourite, through his master's bounty, created

marquis of Dublin, and duke of Ireland. His renewal of the treaty of peace with Arth Mac Murchad O'Cavenagh, and the payment of the stipulated tribute. Leland tells, that the earl of Ormond, who succeeded Sir John Stanly, obtained some advantages over O'Nial, whom he stiles the powerful chieftain of the North, and over O'Brien. But whoever considers the narrow limits and real weakness of the Pale, at that time, tributary to Mac Murchad, with a revenue short of £10,000 a year, will be led to discredit such relations, unless they be explained by a civil war, or some such distraction as would enfeeble the potentates of the north and south.

The reign of Richard II., and of Arth Mac Murchad O'Cavenagh in Leinster, form an epoch in Irish history. We have seen before, that the Leinster tribes, provoked by the scornful rejection of their petition, put O'Brien at their head, and took vengeance on the colonists. The next leader, who led them to victory, was a youth of sixteen, Arth Mac Murchad O'Cavenagh, descended from the antient kings of Leinster. So successfully did he carry on the war, that constant supplies of men and money were necessary for the existence of the colony; and so hard were they driven, by that incomparable warrior, O'Cavenagh, that the whole power of England appeared necessary to save them.

Leland, rather than acknowledge the truth, that they were the victories of O'Cavenagh which summoned Richard and his great army into Ireland, found or made fictitious motives. That he

gave in his name to the electors of Germany, as candidate for the imperial throne: that his inability to recover the conquests of his ancestors in France, or subdue the enemies of his government in Ireland, were represented by the electors as sufficient disqualifications; to wipe off which he ventured on the conquest of a prince, who ruled three counties, Wicklow, Wexford, and Carlow! Great levies were raised, and great supplies granted, for this enterprize; from which the parliament and people of England had such mighty expectations, but which the issue disappointed. The English clergy gave a tenth of their property for the intended conquest of Ireland.

In the month of October, 1394, Richard landed at Waterford, at the head of 30,000 foot and 4000 heavy armed cavalry, attended by the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Nottingham and Rutland, Thomas lord Piercy, and other distinguished personages. All this mighty preparation and bustle ended in the renewal of the original treaties made between Henry II. and the Irish princes; and which, it appears, they were willing to observe, as the infractions always commenced with the opposing party.

Mowbray earl of Nottingham, earl marshal of England, was empowered to treat with the Leinster chieftains, who met him at Carlow, and entered into treaties by their interpreters; while the king in person went as far as Drogheda, to meet the powerful chieftain of Ulster, O'Neil, where they accommodated their differences in an amicable manner, and returned to Dublin; whi-

ther Richard invited the four provincial kings, and other princes, to a royal entertainment, as kings Henry and John did before, in which he studied to display his magnificence, having removed the crown jewels from England for that purpose. No less than seventy-five princes attended Richard's court on this occasion, who exercised the rights of sovereignty in their own tribes and districts, 'all blindly attached to their own unrefined customs and manners!' says Leland.

A stupid and bigotted observation. Manners and customs are not the growth of a day; nor can a nation lay them aside in a moment like a cloak, and adopt opposite habits, were they even decidedly preferable, a thing far from being evident. The Irish constitution had indeed failed. It had its period, like every thing human; but it lasted a long time, much longer than any constitution has hitherto lasted in England, and under it Ireland attained prosperity, learning, and renown; a leading rank among the nations of Europe. She enjoyed more of internal tranquillity, and social happiness, than any cotemporary state in Europe; and, if we had no other proof of this, the flourishing state of her numerous learned seminaries, and the immense numbers that resorted to them, from every part of Europe, are in themselves ample evidences; as the muses fly the din of arms. The university of Prague lost its splendour through the Hussite war; and Ireland, become the theatre of war between the Danes and natives, lost her ancient pre-eminence

in the sciences and arts, and thence forward was little resorted to by foreign students. Even after the constitution of Ireland expired, through the nullity of the supreme executive power attached to the monarchy, her manners and customs made the state of society tolerable, during the indeterminate contests of petty chiefs, unrestrained by superior authority, and more tolerable than the tyranny of an English baron.* We have already observed the rudeness and ill breeding of John's courtiers, but then they were young. Well, let us see the behaviour of Richard's courtiers, the prime nobility of England; men in the prime of life, or beyond it. The four principal kings, O'Neil, O'Connor, O'Brien, and Mac Murchad, sat at king Richard's table, in their robes of state; Ormond, and Henry Castile, a gentleman of Richard's court, who understood Irish, interpreted. "The staring courtiers importuned them with such questions, as argued the meanest conceptions of their manners and understanding, and were answered with indignation and affected dignity." Why, Mr. Leland, 'affected dignity?' Dignity was a sentiment habitual to the mind of an Irish chieftain, needing no affectation. Froissard, an eye-witness, does not call that dignity affected; rudeness may be a part of English politeness; we cannot otherwise account for the supercilious and unmannerly conduct of the English courtiers towards their master's guests, men every way their superiors.

* See pages 170, 171, 172.

King Richard having thus settled his affairs in Ireland, and spent some months in festivity with his feudatory allies, departed for England. Doubtless, great expectations of the entire reduction of Ireland was formed in England, from the presence of the king with a royal army, aided by his ablest statesmen and generals; and they criticized the king's remissness with a severity proportioned to their disappointment. But the king and his counsellors, who were on the spot, were better able to weigh the difficulties of such an enterprize. The Irish, though weakened and divided, were still formidable; a formal and serious attempt to reduce the whole island, would probably unite the seventy-five tribes in a common cause, and drive them to forget their domestic quarrels, elect a monarch to conduct their operations, and raise an army in one week of 100,000 armed men; a very moderate estimate. Did they chuse to protract the war; carrying it on defensively, they would ruin Richard's army without fighting, and a nation of warriors would not be subdued by the loss of many battles. We may estimate the hazard of such an undertaking, from the formidable resistance made by one province, under O'Neil, against the power of England, aided by the rest of Ireland. During a vigorous contest of fifteen years, he was more than once on the point of extinguishing the English power in Ireland. The superior fortune of his adversary obtained at last a dear bought victory.

Richard himself experienced the difficulty of

conquering Ireland, in his second expedition, undertaken against the broken remnants of the Leinster tribes, which ended not much to his honour. The story is a short one. The king's governors of the Pale pretended, or had a king's order, which English writers miscal a treaty, to compel all the native Irish to evacuate the province of Leinster, and seek their fortunes wherever they could. It is, I say, highly absurd in Leland or Cox, to pretend that any people would voluntarily, and without compulsion, agree to quit their homes, and resign their inherited lands, without being compelled by the point of the sword. Very naturally they resisted the insolent mandate, and summoned from his studies, at the age of sixteen, that admirable hero, Arth Mac Murchad O'Cavenagh, to assume the crown of Leinster, to which he was the legitimate heir. The youthful warrior, born a general, accepted the post of danger and honor with delight. The boisterous temper, the rebellion of the natives, was echoed to the throne; and Richard prepared once more, resolved to come to Ireland with a great army, to assert his own authority, and to support the usurpations of his vassals.

On the 13th of May, 1399, Richard, accompanied by a splendid train of English nobility, and a grand army, landed at Waterford; whence, after some delay to refresh his troops, and receive the submissions of some neighbouring chiefs, he marched in quest of Mac Murchad, the head of the Leinster Irish; who, to secure himself from the superior number of his enemies, retired

to his woods, and at their approach appeared at the head of 3,000 men, so well armed and appointed, and with such an appearance of determined valour, as was perfectly astonishing to the English, who had been taught to despise their rude and undisciplined violence. The royal army was drawn out in order of battle, expecting a vigorous attack; but the Irish forces suddenly disappeared, and Richard, elevated by this retreat, ordered the adjacent houses and villages to be set on fire, and the royal standard to be advanced, under which he created several knights, and among these the young Henry of Lancaster, afterwards the illustrious king Henry V., who on this occasion gave the first proofs of his valour.

To facilitate the pursuit of an enemy, who appeared to fly, a large body of peasants was employed to cut a passage through the woods, which the Irish had by every means endeavoured to render impassible. As the king's army marched through all the difficulties of an encumbered road, perpetually impeded, and sometimes plunged into deep and dangerous morasses, the enemy frequently assailed them with loud shouts. Mr. Leland calls them 'barbarous ululations.' But was it not the custom of the Greeks and Romans, and indeed of most nations, to commence battle with shouts and clashing of armour? The enemy then frequently assailed them, and cast their darts with such force as no armour could withstand, slaughtering their detached parties, retired and advanced with astonishing agility, so as conti-

nually to annoy and harrass the English forces, though they could not be brought to a general engagement. This masterly plan of warfare, rigidly adhered to, brought Richard and his army to intolerable distress. Numbers of his men perished by famine; their horses, from want and hardship, grew incapable of service; a general gloom spread through the camp, and his bravest knights murmured at their fate, who were to perish in a service attended with so little honour, and such severe distress. A few ships, laden with provisions from Dublin, having approached the neighbouring coast, the famished soldiers plunged into the sea, seized and rifled them, shedding each other's blood in a furious contest for relief. This was the situation of Richard's army, according to the description of the earl of Totness.

In this situation, Richard made large offers (Leland says, was weak enough to offer territories and castles, in Leinster) to Arth Mac Murchad. I believe Dr. Leland, in the king's situation, would be guilty of similar weakness. These overtures and offers the Doctor makes the Irish hero reject, and in the same breath represents him as suing for an accommodation of his own accord, which resolution he imputes to sound policy. Surely this would not be the conduct of an able general and politician, such as Murchad is described. The truth is, they garble the whole account, to bring off the honour of the English army, and to palliate their defeat. The treaty, which enabled Richard to save the

remains of his army, it seems was so disgraceful that he was ashamed to own it. His violent and extravagant proceeding afterward, offering a reward for the head of a brave and injured prince, whom he was unable to subdue, proved his conscious shame. To cover this perfidy, and the disgrace of the British arms before so inferior a force, romantic tales must be invented. Murchad's uncle, and other lords, against the superior judgment of their general, must go to Richard's camp, and submit, with halters round their necks, when Richard himself was in extremity, in the power of the enemy; and, to be sure, the uncle and the other lords knew nothing of the matter, were totally unacquainted with the merits and success of Arthur's plan.

This story must serve to usher in the king's promises, as unconnected with the negotiation; and Arthur must be transformed into the swaggering hero of a tragedy, that he may appear to have rejected advantageous offers; and then, immediately after, with the same levity, court negotiation, without any stipulation; and then he is made to break off the treaty, that the English forces may have the honour to retreat without his permission.

In the situation described by the earl of Totness, famine and dismay in his camp, men and horses perishing for hunger and fatigue, his most valiant knights, giving all for lost, lamenting their fate, Richard could not delay a moment to extricate his army from destruction, by treating with the enemy; for, if he hesitated, the army

would doubtless mutiny, and compel him to it. He could not expect a morsel of provisions, except what might come by sea, and that was precarious. By advice of the council, who, certainly, would not advise it, unless necessary for the safety of the army, (and be it remembered, that Richard made the first overtures, "offering castles and lands in Leinster,") Gloucester was commissioned to meet him at a place appointed, and for this purpose marched out with a guard of 200 lances and 1000 archers. An eye-witness (Froissard) of their interview describes the Irish chieftain tall of stature, formed for agility and strength, of an aspect fierce and severe, (it should be haughty and severe,) mounted on a swift and stately horse, darting rapidly from a mountain, between two woods, adjacent to the sea, attended by his train. At his command they halted at a due distance, while their leader, casting the spear from him, which he grasped in his right hand, rushed forward to meet the English lord. The parley was continued for a considerable time, and a treaty of peace concluded, the very existence of which Leland endeavours to find pretences to deny, yet which, nevertheless, saved Richard's army. For we find, in effect, that Mac Murchad withdrew his forces, and that the English army was suffered to pursue its retreat to the capital unmolested. After refreshing his enfeebled army in Dublin, and receiving reinforcements brought from England, he had the meanness to deny his treaty, offering a reward of 300 gold marks for the head of the heroic Arth. sending out his

troops to harrass his country, for he no longer chose to go in person in quest of the formidable Arthur. Here he lay, uttering his vexation against the Leinster prince, for the deep disgrace of his royal arms, until news came from England of more serious importance, that the throne was filled in his absence.

In the succeeding reign of Henry IV. the duke of Lancaster was sent over with an English force, to retrieve the honour of the English arms, who, assembling a parliament at Trim, and collecting the forces of the English settlements, aided by the zealous concurrence of Ormond and Kildare, formed a respectable army, crouded with Irish natives as well as settlers, and marched to subdue Mac Murchad. This chieftain, though weakened by the defection of many of his associates, disdained to employ those arts of generalship on this occasion, which had proved so successful against the greatest English army ever landed in Ireland. Anno 1407, he gave the enemy battle, a desperate, a well disputed battle they called it, in which they claimed the victory, while they acknowledge that Murchad was not thereby reduced.

The year following, anno 1408, Lancaster made extraordinary preparations, stipulating for supplies of men and money from England, and that one or two families should be transported into Ireland, at the king's charges, from every parish in England; yet notwithstanding these extraordinary efforts, he was totally defeated. The battle was fought at the western extremity

of Dublin, where the Phenix Park now stands, and the English hotly pursued in their flight with great slaughter, choaked up the ford with the dead bodies, and dyed it red with their blood, whence it got the name of *Ath cro*, i. e. bloody ford, which epithet, after the building of a bridge over the ford, was communicated to it also. The duke of Lancaster, who commanded the English, was wounded near the walls of Dublin, and soon after expired.

The details of all the victories of this hero, I have not as yet seen, but the result and confirmation of them are to be found, in the trepidation of the colony; the incessant demand of succours from England; the frequent change of governors and councils; the murmurings of the English parliament and nation, for the burden of supporting the English settlers against his victorious arms; the great armies sent from England against him, the greatest that ever landed in Ireland, and their discomfiture.

England was petrified, that the chief of a few Irish clans, occupying the territory now named the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, and Carlow, should humble the victors of Crecy and Agincourt. She endeavoured to practise the resource of base cowardly minds, and take off the hero by assassination, whom she durst no longer encounter in the field.

The English writers have recorded the reward of 300 gold marks, offered for the capture or death of the king of Leinster; they have omitted the perfidy of the English settlers endeavouring

to earn the blood-money. The Irish annalists, unacquainted probably with the proffered reward, recorded the treacherous attempt of the chief settlers to destroy their formidable conqueror. The lords of English descent invited him to a banquet. Conscious of the prowess of the hero, they made every preparation for his ruin. The guests were numerous, bred to arms, and all wore swords. With the sentiments of a Milesian cavalier, fraught with the loftiest flights of chivalry, accustomed to the hospitality of his country, which made every house a sanctuary, even for the worst enemy, he suspected no guile in the invitation of men calling themselves noble. He came attended only by his bard and a servant: luckily for him his bard was not blind. Placed at a window, the minstrel delighted the company with the native airs, superior, by the confession of the worst enemies, to the music of all other nations at that day. He suddenly changed his notes to a *Rosg catha*, i. e. incitement to battle. Reprimanded, and ordered to play festive airs, he complied, but presently returned again to the *Rosg catha*. Whether Arth understood him, or was moved with indignation at the disobedience of his harper, he arose from the table, and saw the house surrounded with horse and foot. The scene that ensued would be a subject for the pencil of a Raphael, Angelo, or Phidias. How can I describe the consternation and terror of the traitors, when they saw their treason prematurely detected, before the bottle had settled the preliminaries! Armed as

they were, and numerous, who dare stir, while Hercules stood before them, sober, on his guard, brandishing a sword, that cost almost as much as his horse, with an arm that dealt death among their ranks on the field of battle, and often cut a man cased in armour in two with a single blow. It is not in my power to paint the frown of indignity and contempt he darted on the base assassins, who greeted him with the kiss of Judas, and invited him to a murderous feast. They were already subdued, by shame, guilt, and terror; for the man who dare stir was sure of his death-warrant. I cannot attempt to detail the rapidity and energy with which he fought his way through horse and foot, assembled about the house for his destruction. The Irish annalists narrate this wonderful exploit in a few expressive words: “with the valour of his arm and his heroism he cut his way through them.” He mounted his steed, the swiftest that Froissard ever saw, and on arriving home, declared war against the perfidious assassins, who converted hospitality into a man-trap for murder. This just and necessary war he pursued, untill he humbled the pride of England, and its Irish colony; compelled them to acknowledge him king of Leinster, and to pay tribute to him, and to his posterity, for tolerating the English colony in Ireland.

He might have his reasons for not expelling the vile ruffians, who attempted his life for the blood-money, by the infamous treason of a murderous feast. He might have been weary of a war, that

lasted upwards of forty years, with a few intervening truces, though generally victorious. He might have foreseen, that the Pale, pushed to extremity, England would subsidize O'Neil or O'Brien to wage war against him. At all events, he might have considered the Pale as an useful appendage to his kingdom of Leinster, paying him tribute. That this was not a pension, as the flatterers of English pride would insinuate, is proved by the authority of Henry VIII. and his parliament of the Pale, who, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, passed the following act against the payment thereof. “ Prayen the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, that whereas the king's Irish enemies have been heretofore of great force and strength, within this land of Ireland, by reason whereof they have charged divers the king's towns and faithful subjects with tributes and exactions, for consideration that the said Irishmen, which do take the said tributes should defend the king's said subjects, which they have not done, ne do not, and yet the king's said subjects at the charge to pay them the said unlawfull impositions to their utter impoverishing Wherefore and forasmuch as our sovereign lord the king, having respect to the poverties of his said poor subjects of this his land of Ireland, hath sent his armie royal hither for the exonerating of his grace's said subjects, whereby his grace's said subjects are highly animated and fortified, and the said Irish enemies greatly enfeeblished, so as nothing lieth in them to do for

having any such tribute. Be it therefore by authority of this present parliament enacted, established and ordained, that no manner Irishman, within this land of Ireland, shall have any tribute, exaction, or any other unlawfull impositions, of, or upon any the king's towns or faithfull subjects within the same land, but that all and every the king's said towns and subjects shall be clearly from henceforth for evermore acquitted, discharged and exonerated from all and every such tributes, any letters or commandments sent to them or any of them, or hereafter to be sent contrary to this present act, in any wise notwithstanding."

As the defeat of the greatest English army that ever visited Ireland, combined with the forces of the English settlers, by a chief of a territory now known by the names of the counties of Wicklow, Wexford and Carlow, at the head of only 3000 men, may appear marvellous, and perhaps incredible, to the self-love of Englishmen, notwithstanding unquestionable English and French authorities, parallel examples, and an elucidation of O'Cavenagh's stratagems, may remove their scruples.

The Numantians of Spain, descended from the same stock as the Milesians, furnish a parallel example of a small force defeating a much greater, not in one battle, but in many. If the Romans, to their shame, at length overwhelmed and annihilated that heroic people, their writers, very unlike the English, instead of endeavouring to defame them, left an honorable testimony of their

valour and generosity. The Lusitani furnish another example.

“ Though Numantia was inferior to Carthage, Capua, and Corinth, in wealth; yet, in honor and reputation of valour, it was equal to them all, in respect of its men, (Celtiberians,) the flower of all Spain. For, standing upon a small ascent, by the river Durius, and having neither walls nor towers, it defended itself, with no more than 4000 Celtiberians, against an army of 40000 men, for fourteen years together; and not only kept them off, but gave them severe blows, and made them accept dishonourable terms. At last, when we found them too hard for us this way, we sent the conqueror of Carthage to deal with them. It must be confessed, if we speak the truth, that never was any war so ill grounded. The Numantians had received into their bosoms, the Segidenses, their allies and kindred, who had escaped out of the hands of the Romans. No intercession for pardon would be accepted. They were commanded to lay down their arms. This was resented, as if they were ordered to cut off their own hands. Therefore, at the instigation of their valiant leader Megara, they flew to arms, and fell upon Pompey; but, when it was in their power to have beaten him, they chose rather to accommodate matters. The next general they encountered was Hostilius Mancinus, of whose forces they made such havock, that not a man of them durst look a Numantian in the face. Yet here too they forbore to destroy their enemy, which they might have done; and struck a

league, upon no other advantage but the spoils they had taken with their swords, &c. Lastly, overpowered by a consular army, twenty times their number, led on by Scipio Africanus, who employed against them all the stratagems of superior tactics, they fell, to the eternal disgrace of the Roman name, martyrs to the cause of honor and freedom. Death they preferred to bondage; and thus practised what other nations only talk of, to live free or die.* Roman armies, in the most flourishing state of their discipline, after the second Punic war, we cannot conceive to have been beaten, without the combination of extraordinary bravery guided by military skill equally great.

The few sketches remaining of Arth's manner of warfare with Richard II., give some insight into the plan of that great hero's campaign. He had timely notice of the extraordinary supplies granted by parliament; and the great preparations made for invading his principality. A pitched battle, with more than twelve times the number he could muster, he knew to be imprudent, and probably ruinous. He therefore had recourse to the stratagems of war. It is probable, that he buried provisions for himself and his army, in pits known but to a few trusty men, and removed or destroyed the remainder. That, as the royal army was advancing, the cattle were driven out of their reach; the roads broke up; pits dug, bottomed with pointed stakes, and covered with

* Florus. Rom. Hist.

slender wattles and green sods. The hills, intended for temporary encampments, provided with rolling stones; barrels, filled with earth or stones; car wheels, with transverse spikes traversing their axle, with a few stones lashed to it, to encrease the weight; darts prepared of massy oak, well pointed with steel, something like the Roman pilum; with many others, that a fertile invention would suggest. Add to this, that he drew the English army into defiles and morasses, where the superior agility and strength of the Irish, and perfect knowledge of the country, of the turnings, windings, and passes, gave him great advantages. In these places the Irish were swifter than the English cavalry. They threw their darts with such force as no armour could withstand. They cut to pieces all detached parties, whether for observation or forage. “ They retired and advanced with astonishing agility, so as continually to annoy and harrass the English forces, though they could not be brought to a general engagement.”* Perishing by famine, cut off in detail, ’tis obvious, that the Irish prince might have annihilated the royal army, if his humanity, equal to his abilities and valour, did not plead for them. In vain Leland strives to cover their disgrace with the transparent gauze of fiction. “ Arth sued for peace, and offered to go to Richard’s camp.”—“ The Irishman, who well knew the difficulties to which the king’s army was reduced, and the impossibility of their

* Leland, from Froissard, an eye-witness.

subsisting for any time in their present situation; horses and men perishing by famine and fatigue; the bravest knights murmuring at their fate, who were to perish in a service attended with so little honor." 'Tis thus the prevaricating historian overturns in one line what he asserted in another. Little honor to be sure they got, except what they deserved, a sound drubbing, for going on a lawless unjust war, for their ingratitude to the family that founded their colony. 'Tis not improbable, that the common proverb in Ireland, *Byrne, Toole, and Cavanagh, Triur a rusgadh Sassanach*, may be dated from the reign of this victorious king of Leinster. That he could not impede Richard's return to Dublin, is the groundless assertion of Leland. A famishing army, perishing by hunger, cut off in detail, fifty miles from Dublin, that must fight its way with famine and the sword, through the mountains and defiles of the county of Wicklow, where all provision would be removed from its reach, must inevitably have been exterminated before it reached the capital.

Arth little imagined, that gratitude for his clemency would be a breach of treaty, and a price set on his head! Repeated acts of perfidy had not taught the Irish to consider it as a national malady, not confined to individuals. But Arth miraculously escaped the snare of the murderous banquet, while Richard paid the forfeit of his treaty-breaking, and assassination rewards, by the loss of his crown and life.

The first parliament convened by Henry IV.,

of the house of Lancaster, who succeeded Richard II., of the house of York, demonstrated the victories of O'Cavenagh, and their dread of his power, by their solicitude and efforts for the preservation of the Pale. A subsidy for three years was granted by the English parliament for its defence. The act against Irish absentees was renewed, imposing a tax of two-thirds of their income on such as would not reside on their estates in Ireland; and Henry's second son, Thomas, duke of Lancaster, was sent with some troops to Ireland as deputy.

Henceforward the history of Ireland offers little interesting, untill the reign of Henry VII. The existence of the Pale was secured by the subsidy to Mac Murchad; and the chief settlers, as well as the antient Irish, carried on their local wars, in defiance of its feeble government. England too, during this period, was distracted by civil wars between the rival houses of York and Lancaster; and could but pay but little attention to Irish affairs. Not a year elapsed without a war in one or other of the provinces; and not unfrequently in all at once. Leinster, in particular, was infested with incessant hostilities, between the English and the bordering septs: for, though they purchased peace from the formidable Arth, they honored not O'Moore of Leix, or O'Connor Faly, with the same respectable attention; but were involved in incessant hostilities with them, to enlarge their frontier.

If the scene was not afflicting, that exhibits a brave magnanimous people, renowned of yore for

the most exalted virtues, tearing each other in pieces with their own hands, for the gratification and benefit of cruel, perfidious enemies, watching the moment to pounce on their destined prey, it would be amusing to peruse the narrative of their petty hostilities. These are transmitted to us, by our annalists, with a scrupulous veracity. There is too much monotony in them, to afford either entertainment or instruction. Two bordering clans fell out, met and fought, made peace, and the war was over for some time. In one of these tremendous battles, which Irish writers registered as matter for history, nine men were killed, and one horse taken! What a pity they did not acquaint us with the number of the wounded and prisoners, if there were any.

The pernicious effects of the statutes of Kilkenny were forcibly felt by the settlers. Statutes, which, if at all admissible, could only be enacted by national authority against some party or culpable individuals, but were utterly impracticable in the then circumstances of Ireland. The settlers were not allowed to make peace or war with the Irish, without permission of government; but it might frequently happen, that waste and havoc was made on them, before they received permission to stand on their defence. They were prohibited to trade, or hold any intercourse, with the Irish enemy. And who else could they deal with? a handful of men compared to the nation, among whom they dwelt as a corroding canker; to use the expression of Leland, better applied. Cities and individuals sued for patents, autho-

rizing them to transgress these statutes, as impolitic as inhuman; and the majority daily transgressed them, without the authority of a patent; because their observance was impracticable in most cases.

The absurd tyranny of these men is further proved by an act of the colonial parliament, prohibiting the Irish enemy to emigrate, without special licence under the great seal of Ireland! They would not be received as subjects, protected by law. They were designated as fair game for any settler, who could kill them, and take their properties; yet they would not be allowed to migrate in quest of safety! This can appear in no other light than as a game-act; not unlike the act forbidding the transportation of hawks, under a penalty heavier than the eric allowed for the murder of twenty-four mere Irishmen residing within English jurisdiction.

One cannot help admiring the puny arts, by which English vanity labours to discolor facts, and prevaricate against truth. Mac Murchad, though acknowledged king of Leinster, by both king and parliament, who agreed to pay him and his posterity annual tribute, for his forbearance or protection, must be called an insurgent! Certainly, whoever rises against another is an insurgent, in the literal meaning; but, by usage, it has been warped, to signify the rising of an inferior against a superior. Now, surely the Pale can no wise be considered as superior to the man, whom it acknowledged as king, and to whom it paid tribute. Certain chroniclers, determined to

defeat Mac Murchad at any rate, tell us, that deputy Scroop, with the zealous concurrence of Ormond, Desmond, Kildare, and other English lords, and the subjects of Meath, in a desperate and well disputed battle, defeated, but did not subdue the Leinster chief. We wish for better authorities. Why did not they follow up their blow, at least untill he renounced the tribute called Black Rent? Because, according to their story, they were obliged to march against other insurgents. But the conquest of him would be of more important consequences than that of any other Leinster chieftain. 'Tis probable they had sound reasons for altering their position; and the defeat of Arth was, like some modern victories—on paper.

There is a law of action and reaction, pervading every department of nature. There is a law of retributive justice, in the moral system of intelligent beings, which the settlers experienced in different measure from their first settlement. All appointed to station and office of English birth, every fresh swarm of adventurers treated the settlers of Irish birth with the most mortifying contempt and injustice; as if the local difference of birth could found any real cause of disparity. Thus, within the narrow limits of the Pale, distinct English and Irish interests were formed, by prejudice of birth; contested by two violent factions, subsisting until difference of religion absorbed that less serious party badge. The contempt for the settlers of English descent, was manifested by the nobility and gentry of England; as if the

soil or climate of Ireland communicated a taint to English blood in those born there. In the Pale, there was no college or seminary for law, physic or divinity. The inhabitants were deterred, by national antipathy as well as power, from sending their children to the seminaries of the Irish enemy; their only resource was to send them to England. In the beginning of the reign of Henry V., the English parliament decreed the expulsion of all Irish adventurers from England, as vagabonds. Their students, ignominiously turned out of the inns of courts, and every other place of education, were thus deprived of any knowledge of the laws by which they were to be governed. Could the Irish enemy have been treated worse? What a striking display this, of the very opposite character of the two nations? England refused residence or education to the youth of their own colony, of the same race and religion, and expelled them as vagabonds. The Milesian Irish gave habitation, maintenance, clothing, books, and education, gratis, to thousands of English youth, by the testimony of their own writers. The prejudice of England, against every thing Irish, reached the brute creation; and an English parliament voted Irish cattle a nuisance, whether dead or alive.

The inhuman policy of expelling the English settlers from intercourse and education in England, a retaliation on them for similar decrees against the mere Irish in the statutes of Kilkenny, had reasons at bottom unnoticed by those who recorded them. It was the wish of England,

that the learned professions, within the extent of her jurisdiction in Ireland, should be altogether in the hands of born Englishmen; that all lawyers, judges, physicians, and beneficed clergymen, should be of the same English birth. Consequently, the youth of the Pale should not be admitted to qualifications, that might raise up competition. The declaration of war against Irish cattle had also its motives. The English, then no manufacturers, exported hides, tallow, wool, &c., and imported cloth, leather, linen, and other manufactures. The grazing interest, therefore, obtained that violent decree against the horned creation of Ireland. The modern English, for other reasons, whether of sympathy or interest, are reconciled to them.

Great has been the change in the policy of England. The popish kings and parliaments of England discouraged colonial emigration, i. e. absence from the colony and residence in England, by the enormous tax of two-thirds of the property of the absentee. Even such as went to England on the king's business, if they staid beyond the time necessary for accomplishing the object of their mission, were taxed one-third of their property. These severe penalties on absentees continued in force till the Reformation. There was a solid reason for these severities. It was necessary that every man, possessing property in the Pale, or other parts connected with England, should be on the spot, to conciliate the attachment of his tenants and servants, by giving them an interest to fight for; to furnish them

with arms, and train them to the use of them, to be ready to sally out at his command, and join in the common defence of the colony. Modern England encourages Irish emigration; making it, by the act of Union, not alone fashionable, but necessary. Thus the landed proprietors of Ireland, residing in England, are not acquainted with their tenants; who, left to the mercy of agents, middle-men, and tithe-proctors, know nothing of superiors, but through the rack-rent, toil, and demi-starvation. Would the great man, who lives in pomp on their hard labour and wretchedness, come, an utter stranger to them, to invite them to fight his battles, unarmed and untrained as they are, their answer most likely would be similar to that of the ass in Esop. "An ass grazing near his master, was asked by him to use all speed, for the enemy was coming. Would he double my present load? No. Then 'tis indifferent to me who has me, since my condition cannot be worse." Which policy be wisest I leave to time.

The division between the new and old settlers extended even to the clergy; and bishops were seen to inveigh against each other, publishing scandalous reports and recriminations.

The native Irish were too much divided, and occupied in fighting each other, to take any advantage of the disunited colony. Were the representations of the English writers, and the language of parliament and state acts true, intimating a rancorous hatred in all the Irish against the foreign invaders, and a settled design to ex-

terminate or expel them, that handful of foreigners could not stand a general assault from a nation of warriors a moment. Unfortunately for themselves, pride and revenge perpetuated their family quarrels, and blinded them to the consequences of suffering a powerful and neighbouring kingdom to keep a garrison in the heart of their country, and hold possession of its cities and strong holds. Their contempt for the Pale was not wise. They might have seen, from their statutes, and the usual course of their policy, that the extermination of the antient inhabitants was their principal wish, and ultimate object. They did not foresee, what actually happened afterwards, that they would employ their own arms to effect that purpose.

The old settlers prepared a petition to Henry V. on his arrival in England from the battle of Agincourt, setting forth the grievances and vexations they suffered, from the prejudices of new adventurers, in all the departments of government, church and law; but the chancellor Merbury, of English descent, refused to put the great seal to it, without which its transmission would be informal: it was dropped for the present.

What feigned submissions might have been obtained by deputy Furnival, from Irish chieftains, with whom he never fought a battle that has been recorded, may be guessed by the sentiments of the people at his departure. He was accompanied with the execration of clergy and laity, whose lands he had ravaged, whose castles he had seized, whose fortunes had been impaired

by his extortions and exactions, or who shared in the distress arising from the debts he left undischarged. He might have prevailed on Mac Murchad, to let his son accompany him to the castle, by a liberal share of the plunder of the colony, and persuade the bigotted settlers that he was an hostage. Arth might indulge the parade, assured that no perfidy would be attempted, which he was sure of speedily punishing with exemplary vengeance.

But perhaps the exaggerations of colonial writers, concerning imaginary victories gained, and the implacable hatred of the Milesian race to the foreign invaders, will be more satisfactorily explained from one of themselves; who, tho' sometimes swayed by truth, never missed any occasion to conceal or disguise it. Who, in a court of justice, would reject the testimony of his opponents, when favorable to his cause? Nothing can better illustrate the real weakness of the Pale, and the causes of its preservation, than their own records.

“The common enemy, [the Milesians,] who had left them [the settlers] leisure for frivolous dissensions, were too much disunited to take advantage of them. They were contented, in the distant quarters of the island, to rule their petty septs, to maintain their state and consequence against their neighbours, to enjoy the honour and advantage of trifling victories, to execute their revenge, or to pursue their local interests. Their aversion to the English was by this time scarcely more national than their aversion to the

rival septs of their own race. They united in the most cordial affection with those of the old English families who had revolted to them; and their insurrections against the English, far from being uniformly actuated by a desire of exterminating the foreign invaders, appear to have been commonly occasioned by local claims and disputes. Sometimes they rose to avenge the defeat or death of some chieftain, sometimes to recover some disputed lands, or to exact some duties which they claimed. Had the whole Irish race arisen as one man, against the subjects of the crown of England, they must have instantly destroyed them. But the truth is, this little handful of men, for such they were, when compared to the body of original natives, had the same ground of security with any of the particular Irish septs. They had enemies on all sides, but these were enemies to each other; nor were any concerned to espouse the quarrels of their neighbours, or mortified by their losses or defeats. Sometimes indeed, when a particular sept was in danger of total ruin from the victory of some English forces, their neighbours were persuaded to come to their rescue; “for the sake of the Irish language,” (as the manuscript annals* express it,) but without engaging further, and without conceiving themselves bound by one general permanent interest. These particulars seem necessary to be pointed out, not only to account for the subsistence of the English but to guard against the prejudices

* Ann. Forb. Ms.

of their annalists. They frequently intimate, that the reigning passion among the whole body of Irish for many ages, was an inveterate and implacable vengeance against the English settled in their country, merely as foreigners and usurpers; and even in the representations of some Irish parliaments, and the acts of state, we find, in the aggravated language of law and politics, assertions of a settled design and general confederacy among the Irish to extirpate the whole race of English subjects. Their perfidious violation of treaties, and their cruelties, are frequently displayed with great severity. But such charges are made on both sides: the sudden insurrections and local quarrels of the Irish, which the writers of England represent as the excesses of an horrid irreclaimable race of barbarians, are ascribed, by the Irish annalists, to the insincerity, injustice, and oppression of their neighbours, to the warmth of just resentment, or the efforts of self-defence. It would be unreasonable partiality to suppose that such representations were always groundless.”*

During the minority of Henry VI., the colonial parliament, sitting at Trim, convened by the archbishop of Dublin, voted an augmentation of twelve men at arms, and sixty archers, to be paid for forty days! Is it not evident from this, that the tributes, paid to Irish chieftains, impoverished the colony; and that, along with the unceasing hostilities of the natives, and their foolish

* Leland, Vol. II. B. III. c. i. p. 16, 17.

contempt of the Pale, a real English garrison protected its existence among a nation who were at any time able to exterminate it; and a nation, whose extermination was planned from the beginning, and afterwards executed, not by the power of the invaders, but by the arms of the Milesians themselves, which shall appear in its proper place?

While tributes to Irish chieftains, and the wars of the latter against each other, left the colony peaceable possession, they abused their repose by factious quarrels, between adventurers of English birth and the old settlers. These resisted the appointment of a bishop of Meath to the deputyship, on account of his English birth. They alledged, that his commission was not confirmed by the great seal; and he was accused of stealing a chalice from one of the churches in his diocese. He was at length accepted, conditionally, on account of the exigencies of the times. During his administration the tribute to the royal family of Leinster was voted justly due, and paid to Gerald Cavenagh, successor to the great Arth.

This great man, and his chief judge, O'Doran, died the same day, in his camp, not without a strong suspicion of their being poisoned by English influence; a suspicion not improbably founded, when we consider the terror he inspired, and the base arts employed by his enemies to rid themselves of a dreaded adversary. A valuable Irish manuscript, written on vellum, contains the unbought eulogy of the departed hero, which

shall be given here. On hearing of his death, the writer paused from his labour, and foisted into the volume a slip of parchment, containing an account of departed greatness. “ This year died Arth boy Mac Murchad O’Cavenagh, one of the greatest heroes the world ever saw. Had I the tongues of men and angels, I would never be able to relate his merits. The mighty defender of his injured kindred—the redoubted avenger of tyranny and oppression—the sure refuge of the weak and distressed—the patron of literature and science—the glory of chivalry, is gone! Alas! poor Erin, weep, when shall his equal return!”

During the successive administrations of the earl of March, Ormond, and lord Furnival, little occurs interesting in the history of Ireland. The Irish chieftains continued their domestic quarrels, with a blind obstinacy, inspired by family pride and implacable hereditary animosity; thus, with their own weapons, paving the way for their own extermination, and preparing an intolerable yoke for the remnant that would be permitted to exist, as hewers of wood and drawers of water. The English colonists, torn by the opposite factions of Butlers, Geraldines, Burkes, and that of the new and old adventurers, left a fair opportunity for their Irish enemy to recover his property, which their infatuated pride would not allow them to make use of. O’Brien was too proud, since the days of Brien Boroiwe, to acknowledge a monarch of the house of Heremon. O’Neill was too powerful, and inflated by the

long list of illustrious monarchs, his ancestors, and scorned to admit a monarch of the house of Heber. O'Connor did not forget, that the last monarch of Ireland was his forefather. Mac Murchad, since the time of the victorious Arth, thought himself as well entitled to the throne as either of the three. As the provincial kings renounced the monarchy and constitution, toparchs, in the different provinces, were willing to shake off all submission to them. O'Donnel was too great to obey O'Neil; exemplified in the laconic message of the latter, and the equally laconic reply of the former. O'Neil to O'Donnel—"Pay me my tribute—or if," O'Donnel to O'Neil—"I owe you no tribute—and if?" O'Kelly, Mac Dermot, O'Madain, &c. set up similar pretensions to independence, against the prerogatives of O'Connor. The first mentioned sent a challenge to the king of Connaught, to decide their disputes in a pitched battle, without armour on either side. O'Connor accepted the defiance, but brought his forces in armour to the field, and defeated O'Kelly, who had adhered to his engagement. The south was not less divided. Mac Carty, sensible of his descent from the eldest branch of the eldest son of Heber, excused himself from any subordination to O'Brien. O'Sullivan would not acknowledge Mac Carty his superior. Fitz-Patrick, O'Moore, O'Connor Faly, were not more complaisant to Mac Murchad. Antient claims, of jurisdiction, privileges, tributes, duties, territory, precedence, &c. which could be adjusted by the national convention of

Tara, while the constitution lasted, were now referred to the sword. Add to all these causes of dissention, the contested elections to the chieftainry of each clan and province, hereditary feuds, &c. and it will be easily perceived, that the sword was never suffered to rust in the scabbard. The anarchy, that prevailed among this unhappy people upwards of four hundred years, untill they were extinguished from the catalogue of nations, may be compared to the confusion that would ensue, if all the courts of law and government were abolished, and the people allowed to appeal to blows instead of law, to terminate their differences. To illustrate the fatal anarchy, and horrid animosities, that raged among the antient Irish, untill their dominion was taken away, and their name, nation, laws, learning, language and character were trampled under foot, and that too by their own hands, one example may suffice for the present. The castle of Roscommon, as before mentioned, had been surrendered to the victorious arms of the Thomonians by De Clare, as part of the eric for the base assassination of Brien Roe O'Brien, their chieftain, at a banquet, to which he was invited for that very purpose. But, as the earl of Essex remarked to queen Elizabeth, the Irish neither could take a castle, nor keep one, if they had possession. The reason of this, though not mentioned by the favourite, is obvious enough. The Irish had no mercenary troops; and, consequently, they could not keep their clans long together, either to carry on a siege, or garrison a fortress; yet dire necessity compelled one

clan to submit to the restraint of presidial discipline, considered by them an imprisonment. The castle fell again into the hands of the English, and the garrison sorely distressed and harassed the O'Kellys of Imany. Possessed of a secure retreat, they could sally out by night or by day, as opportunity offered, and kill, plunder, take men, women, cattle, corn, &c. into their fortress. The chieftain took counsel with his people, how they might check the devastations of such desperate banditti. The best safeguard appeared to be, to build and garrison a castle, in opposition and contiguous to it. O'Kelly accordingly called forth his kindred and his allies; and with them rested under arms fifteen days, untill he erected and garrisoned a castle, in spite of the English and their Milesian allies. What infernal vindictiveness must have rankled in those Milesians, and depraved their feelings, when they would assist this gang of robbers to infest their neighbours with all kind of carnage, plunder and savage atrocity, and hinder O'Kelly to protect the lives and properties of his people, by his little castle, as it was spitefully called, so speedily constructed. The annalists, though accurate as to facts, yet generally too brief, have not recorded the names of those Irish enemies to O'Kelly, who inhumanly endeavoured to make him and his people a prey to the ruffians, who had been wasting his territory nearly with impunity; whether they were the O'Rourkes, Mac Dermots, Burkes, O'Madains, O'Connors, or a confederation of two, three, or more of them. They

simply state, that a host of Gathelians marched to the assistance of the marauders; and, in conjunction with them, endeavoured to take and demolish O'Kelly's little castle. The castle was well defended, and the combined forces beat off. They forgot to record, whether the chieftain of Imany had an entrenched camp near his little castle, to second the valour of its little garrison, though the fact can hardly be doubted; since it cannot be conceived, that the castle-builder would abandon a work, that cost such exertion, and was so necessary to his people. From this sample, and some more that shall follow, it is self-evident, that a people, thirsting so greedily for each other's destruction, could not long subsist as a nation, in the devouring jaws of anarchy and vindictive hostilities. Indeed there was at that time no such thing as an Irish nation united by interest and the national feelings of patriotism. Each clan was a distinct nation; considering only its own local concerns, and hostile or indifferent to the rest. Sometimes, indeed, they formed alliances among a few clans, for some object offensive or defensive; but these were temporary and precarious, while the Irish alliances with their enemies, for the ruin of their country, were more numerous and steady. The mercenary race of their bards, with few exceptions, abused the influence of music and numbers, on minds of vehement sensibility, meanly flattering and inflaming their passions; and were easily bribed, by the invaders, to rekindle old animosities and wars amongst them. Thus, in the reign of queen

Elizabeth, the bards of the north and south were played off against each other, to revive the rivalry of the houses of Heber and Heremon; and impede, by their mutual vaunting, defiance, reproaches and recriminations, any concert for their common protection.

Leland, with his fellow writers of the same stamp, talk of the successes of the earl of Ormond, during his deputyship, over O'Nial, and some other chieftains, which but ill accord with what he states in the same page.* “ We find the limits of the English Pale, as it stood in the ninth year of Henry VI. defined in such a manner, as gives a MORTIFYING idea of the extent of English power in those days;” little more than the county of Dublin being exempt from tribute to Irish chieftains. “ In this interval we find a remarkable instance of the poverty or the economy of those times. It was agreed in council, that as the hall of the castle of Dublin, and the windows thereof, were ruinous, and that there was in the treasury a certain antient silver seal cancelled, which was of no use to the king, the said seal should be broken and sold, and the money laid out on the said hall and windows.” Here are two convincing proofs of their inability to put down any of the great chieftains, or compelling them to relinquish their claim to the tribute, called, by those who paid it, **Black Rent**. The narrow limits of the colony, and the tributes therefrom to the powerful families of Mac Murchad, O'Nial

* Vol. II. Book III. c. i. p. 22.

and O'Brien, sufficiently explain the poverty of the exchequer.

Even in this state of real debility, and precarious tolerated existence, the Pale could not divest itself of its absurd antipathies, subservient to the policy of England. In the administration subsequent to that of Ormond, all the statutes against marrying, fostering, or trafficking with the Irish, were renewed. Nevertheless, the parliament of this little tract, called the Pale, paid a laudable attention to their own interests, with regard to English interference. In their petitions to the king, they notice the misrepresentations made to him of his Irish subjects; the incapacity and ignorance of persons sent from England to every office of trust; and their impudent affectation of superiority over the old settlers: their own right to be treated as Englishmen, agreeably to the stipulations of their ancestors, they insisted on. The discontents, arising from those grievances unredressed, kept increasing, untill they were buried in oblivion by contests of greater moment.

The chief settlers, generally descended from indigent and profligate adventurers, on the testimony of their own cotemporary countrymen, had, by various arts of violence, perfidy, and fraud, profiting of the anarchy and feuds of the old natives, attained princely opulence and consequence. The Geraldines, Burkes, and Butlers, could rank with chieftains of the second class, in power and resources. Of all these, the earl of Desmond was the most potent. He usurped a

large tract of the county of Cork, under pretence of a grant from Cogan; as if that early adventurer had a right to grant other men's estates. He was by patent appointed governor of Limerick, Waterford, Cork and Kerry, dispensed from attendance on parliament for life, on sending a proxy. As an independent sovereign, he exercised all the prerogatives of royalty, and continued his encroachments. Ormond, at this time deputy, began to look with a jealous eye on the aggrandizement of the rival of his house; and interposed his authority, to restrain the rapacity of Desmond. The latter bad him defiance; they collected forces; to war they went, in which the unfortunate natives were, as usual, the principal victims and sufferers. Foiled in his endeavour to defeat Desmond, the deputy was obliged to make a twelve month's truce with him; during which the thane had time to strengthen his party, and encourage the enemies of Ormond to impeach him of sundry acts of mal-administration. The artifices of Desmond succeeded: an order was issued for the removal of Ormond, which, on receiving a favourable testimony of his Irish deputy's conduct, Henry suspended; yet, soon after, whether moved by the accusations sent over, or to remove a cause of jealousy from among the leading colonists, he sent an Englishman, Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, to govern his Irish domain. He came attended by 700 men; a necessary reinforcement, in times of turbulence and factious broils among natives and settlers. The Fitz-Patricks and the Butlers

had some quarrels, in which the Irish chieftain of Ossory, as usual, was assassinated. O'Connor Faly and the Berminghams invaded Meath. O'Brien and Clanrickard made war on the colonists of Thomond. The colonial writers here state, "that the Irish chieftains were reduced, the degenerate English intimidated, and some of the most obnoxious among them, particularly of the Berminghams, seized, condemned and executed." The reduction of the Irish chieftains! How reasonable the tales of baron Munkhausen, when compared with such extravagant rant? Long after this period the Milesian power was formidable. It was not with 700 men, and the forces of the petty, impoverished Pale, that such an undertaking could be dreamed of. If, by the mediation of a deputy, peace was restored, or atonement made to an injured or offended chieftain, it was set down reduction, homage. The native Irish seldom took up arms but to revenge some wrong or insult. The settlers, true to the first principles of their mission, never let slip, but always strove to create opportunities of encroachment. If a provoked chieftain was appeased by submission and satisfaction, 'tis strange language to call the transaction homage, submission, and no way reconcileable with the continuance of the tribute.

At a parliament held in Trim, anno 1447, the bigotted ordinances of the Pale against native Irish were renewed. The beard-act, prohibiting the use of whiskers, now generally worn by soldiers on the continent; an act against the use of

gold or silver trappings or harness, except by noblemen or prelates; an act against O'Reily's coin; and an act against the conveyance of gold or silver into England, so remarkable as not to be unworthy of insertion. "Whereas this land of Ireland is greatly impoverished from day to day, by the great deduction and carriage out of the said land into England of the silver plate, broken silver bullion, and wedges of silver made of the great tonsure of the money of our sovereign lord the king, by his Irish enemies, and English rebels within his said land, whereby his said coin is diminished and greatly impaired, and Irish money called Relyes do encrease from day to day, unto the great hurt and impoverishment of his said people of this his said land, and diminution of his coin: the premises therefore considered, it is ordained, established, and provided by authority of the said parliament, that of every ounce of broken silver, bullion, and wedges of silver, taken by any person or persons out of the said land, the said person or persons shall pay, satisfie and content to the king, twelve pence for custom of every ounce, to be received by the hands of his customers for the time being, except lords and messengers going into England about the business of the land, that they may take plate with them according to their beings and estates."

Talbot, on returning to England, his brother, the archbishop of Dublin, being appointed lord lieutenant in his absence, brought several charges of high treason against his predecessor Ormond. The archbishop wrote a treatise in confirmation

of those charges. The king, whether from lenity or policy, quashed all proceedings on the charges, as he did the trial by combat, to which Butler was challenged by the prior of Kilmainham, in support of the allegations against him. These repeated favours confirmed Ormond in his attachment to the house of Lancaster.

As the affairs of Ireland soon became connected with English affairs; and the revolutions in the one always shook the other, more or less, since that period, it will be proper to sketch briefly the causes that first linked the domestic policy of both countries so closely. Notwithstanding two successive reigns in the line of Lancaster, one of whom made a splendid figure on the continent, the house of York had partizans, numerous and powerful, who considered Richard, duke of York, as the legitimate heir; being descended from Lionel, duke of Clarence, the elder brother of him from whom the house of Lancaster claimed their right to the crown. Margaret of Anjou, wife to Henry VI. exercised that dominion over him, which strong minds naturally possess over the weak. In all his transactions with France, her national partiality led him to treaties and concessions odious and unpopular in England. Espousing the animosities of those attached to the Lancastrian line, or who procured her marriage, she imprudently led him to destroy the duke of Gloucester, the darling of the people. The partizans of the house of York failed not to take advantage of every mistake of Henry, in favour of their own cause. They represented him

as a weak, pusillanimous man, governed absolutely by an imperious woman, wedded to foreign and party interests; and the superior rights of York were urged without reserve. A pretence was wanting to the politic Margaret, of sending him out of sight. Petitions were procured from the Irish colony, representing it on the brink of destruction; while the Milesians, occupied by their domestic feuds, and the three most powerful chieftans satisfied with their tributes, left it in full security. Richard, duke of York, was pitched on by the court, as the fittest person to meet the pretended storm; as a relative of De Burgo, and the inheritor of a vast estate in Ireland, could not want followers. Neither did they give him any army; for an administration of eclat was the very thing they did not wish for, in sending this dreaded pretender to Ireland. The policy of Richard appears clearly, from the stipulations he made on accepting the office of lord lieutenant of the Pale. His chearful acceptance of the lieutenancy, and the stipulations he made, clearly bespeak the abilities of a statesman. Conscious that he was removed to Ireland from his English connexions, as too formidable, by his pretensions to the throne, founded on his descent from an elder branch of Lionel, duke of Clarence, supported by numerous and powerful partizans, and his popularity contrasted with the odium of an English king held under the government of a French woman, he thought it best to temporize. To disown ambition, natural to most men, especially to those of high rank and autho-

rity, would only render him more suspicious to the penetrating Margaret. But, claiming higher honors, support, and revenue, than any of his predecessors, and a continuance of his delegated authority for ten years, was a virtual surrender of his pretensions to the throne, to cover his real designs. This is the true clue to his administration in Ireland; the most just, moderate, and conciliating, ever experienced in Ireland from an English delegate. What his character would have been, had he reached the summit of his ambition, his failure and death have left uncertain; but his management of Irish affairs proved, how far equity and conciliation could operate to tranquillize a distracted state, perpetually irritated, and goaded to acts of vengeance by encroachments and insults. Equally courteous and attentive to all parties, of English or Irish descent, Ormond, the noted partizan of a rival house, or a chief of the Irish enemy, was received with equal affability, as the partizans of his own family, and with every appearance of kindness and attention to their affairs. Ormond and Desmond were chosen as gossips to an infant born to him in the castle; studying thus to unite these rival lords, or at least, by his honoring a partizan of Lancaster, to remove the suspicion of a lurking pretendership from York. He soon found, that the representations made in England, of Irish disturbances, were the fabrications of designing men. The only opportunity he found of displaying his arms, was presented by a quarrel between Mac Geoghegan and the English of Meath. But

the presence and equity of York soon settled their differences, to their mutual satisfaction. Studious to recommend himself both to natives and settlers, by his equity to the one, and care of the other, he gained many friends to his cause. In a parliament, which he held in Dublin, anno 1450, some acts were passed, of a popular nature. The law of retaliation was enacted, that an accuser should give security to pay costs and damages, on being convicted of false accusation. It was declared lawful to kill robbers and thieves caught in the fact, and a reward to be levied on the district for the service. But the most remarkable act was that, which restrained the tyranny and oppression of the lords of the Pale, abolishing coyne and livery, &c. and is as follows.

“ That where the marchours [those who dwelt on the borders] of the county of Dyvelyn, [Dublin,] and other marchours of sundry counties, and other men within the land of Ireland, do keep horsemen and footmen, as well Irish as English, more than they can maintain upon their own costs, or upon their own tenants, and from day to other do coynce them upon the poor husbands and tenants of the said land of Ireland, and oppress and destroy them, and namely in time of harvest upon their cornes and meadows with their horses both day and night, and do pay nothing therefore, but many times do rob, spoyl, and kill the said tenants and husbands, as well by night as by day, and the captains of the same marchours, their wives and their pages, certain times of the year do gather and bring

with them the king's Irish enemies both men and women, and English rebels, with their horsemen and footmen, as well in time of war as of peace, to night suppers called cuddies, upon the said tenants and husbands, and they that are the chief captains of the said marchours, do leade and lodge them upon one husband one hundred men horsemen and footmen some night, and upon one other tenant or husband, so many one other night, and so every captain and their wives, pages, and their sons, as well as themselves, and every of them do lead and bring with them so many of the said Irish enemies and English rebels, with their horsemen and footmen upon the said husbands and tenants, and so they espy the secrecie of the said land: and after that every of the said marchours and their wives, pages and sons, have overgone the said husbands, and tenants of the said marches in the form aforesaid, then they go to the captain aforesaid, and there the thieves of the said marchours do knit and confeder together. And that the said marchours thieves do steal in the English country," distinguished from Irish country, " they do put out to them in the march, and in time of war the men of the same marchours, as well horsemen and footmen, do guide the said Irish enemies and their thieves into the English country, and what tenant or husband will not be at their truce, they do burn, they do rob, spoil and kill, and for the more part, the said land is wasted and destroyed. And if such rule be holden, not punished, it is like to be the utter destruction

and undoing of the said land. Wherefore the premises considered, it is ordained and agreed by the authority of the said council, that no marchours nor other man of the said counties, shall keep more men, horsemen or footmen, but that they shall answer for them, and shall maintain them upon their own costs, or their own tenants. And what men that they do keep, horsemen or footmen, the marchours of the county of Dyvelyn shall present their names to the sheriff, or to the justices of peace of the said county, and they to present them to the mayor and bayliffs of the city of Dyvelyn, and in like case, all marchours and other men of every county within Ireland, to the sheriffs or justices of peace of the counties, and they to present them to the mayor and bayliffs of the said cities within the said counties. Sovereigns or provosts of the best burrough-towns within the said counties. And that the said marchours, nor no other man, shall any more use any such coynees, suppers, cuddies, nor shall take no pledges for them, nor none of their thieves or men shall guide none of the king's Irish enemies in the form aforesaid. And what marchours or other men do contrary to the ordinances aforesaid, that they shall be judged as felons. And that the mayors, bailiffs, sovereigns and provosts of the counties aforesaid for the time being, or any other of the king's liege-men, shall have the king's letters patents under his great seal out of his chancery of Ireland made to them in due form, without fine or fee paying for the said letters patents, or great seal, that where they may

find any such thieves, burning, robbing, stealing, killing, coyning, or taking pledges, as it is aforesaid, to take them and their goods, to be forfeited as goods of felons, and the half of the said goods to go to the king, and the other half to them that do take them. And that no escape shall be levied of the commons of the said counties if any of the said felons be killed for the causes aforesaid, nor they nor any of them shall be vexed nor grieved by our sovereign lord the king, nor his justices, officers, nor ministers, notwithstanding any statutes or ordinances thereof made to the contrary before this time." In a parliament, held under the same prince-royal at Drogheda, in the same year, some useful ordinances were made, to regulate the course of law.

While his equitable administration in Ireland daily increased the number of his adherents, his partizans in England improved every incident to his advantage. Notwithstanding the cautious line of policy hitherto pursued by Richard Plantagenet, an incident awoke suspicions of his designs at court. An impostor, by name Cade, assuming the popular name of Mortimer, caused disturbances, and laid open the popular attachment to the house of York. Richard, resolved to appear in London for his justification, committed the lieutenancy to the earl of Ormond, a known partizan of the reigning family. This appointment appeared extraordinary to Leland, but was perfectly suitable to his situation and subtlety. Had he appointed a Yorkist, he would have confirmed the suspicions of the Lancastrians.

After the departure of the duke of York, nothing very memorable happened, to be recorded in history, except one trait of parental affection and filial piety, which, for the sake of humanity, should not be buried in oblivion. During the administration of Fitz-Eustace, deputy to the duke of York, now apparently reconciled to the king, and residing in Wales, O'Connor Faly made an irruption into the district of Kildare. Surprized by Fitz-Eustace, his small troop fled; and, as he was endeavouring to effect his escape, he fell from his horse. "A generous contest was now commenced between the father and son, which of them should be resigned to the mercy of the enemy. The youth urgently pressed his father to take his horse, to leave him to his fate, and to seize the present moment of providing for his own safety. The father obstinately refused; commanded his son to fly, and was quickly made prisoner; but as it appeared that he had taken arms merely for the sake of prey, not with any deliberate purpose of opposition to English government, he was released without any injury."

The colonial writers make a long story of a petty transaction that occurred at this time. A few barks were fitted out in the north, who captured some ships sailing from Dublin, on board one of which was the archbishop of Dublin. "A force was quickly raised by the deputy, to chastise these pirates," says Leland. Would he call the English government pirates, for similar conduct?

At a parliament assembled in Drogheda, by

Fitz-Eustace, as deputy to the duke of York, where all statutes made in England against suing provisions at Rome, were made of force in Ireland, another act was passed, preventing coroners from harrassing and detaining jurors, who, on inquisition for murder, return that they know not the perpetrator. In all the acts of the parliament of the Pale, sedulous attention to the rights of the crown, and to the rights, privileges, ease and convenience of the subject, is observable. That little senate was a fair representation of the proprietors and property of the colony; rotten boroughs were first introduced by the rotten house of ———.

Nations are seldom wise politicians; and their vanity is often at war with their interest. Nothing would be more acceptable to John Bull's pride, than the conquest of France, and the crowning of his king at Paris; yet nothing more adverse to his interest. The king of France should reside there, attending the interests of that great kingdom, and watching the movements of his potent neighbours, the emperor and the king of Spain. There he should hold his court and parliament, and govern England by a viceroy. Thus were they unwittingly wishing the conquest of England, to make it a province to France. In the reign of Henry VI. the total loss of his French dominions, though a real and great benefit to his English subjects, exonerating them from the burdens of an almost perpetual war, and the drain caused by the frequent residence of their king and nobility there, yet mor-

tified national vanity. It furnished a theme of declamation to the Yorkists, to encrease popular discontents. The birth of an heir to king Henry accelerated the contest between the followers of the white and red rose.

Duke Richard arrived in London, where he was, during the king's indisposition, appointed protector of the kingdom. The Lancastrians striving to wrest this power out of his hand, the parties came to blows, and the victory of St. Albans gave the duke possession of the king's person and authority; then he threw off the mask, under which he courted Ormond, the partizan of his royal prisoner, and appointed his rival, a determined Yorkist, the earl of Kildare, his deputy in Ireland. Margaret of Anjou renewed the contest, and obtained the victory at Blore-heath, in Staffordshire, as some alledge, through treachery. Richard fled to Ireland; where he was received, not as a fugitive, but as the rightful heir to the throne. During his former administration he had gained powerful friends, and the affection of all the subjects, who now declared unanimously for him. The English parliament, at Coventry, having declared his adherents rebels, many of them followed their leader into Ireland for shelter. Here he protected them against the writs issued from England for their attachment; and the colonial parliament appealed to Irish hospitality, in support of the protection they gave. They enacted a decree, purporting, that it had been ever customary in their land to receive and entertain strangers with due support

and hospitality; that the custom was good and laudable; and that it should be deemed high-treason for any person, under pretence of writs, privy-seals, or any authority, to attach or disturb the persons so supported and entertained.

“ But the temper of the Irish subjects, and the policy of the duke of York, will appear more fully by an abstract of some laws, passed in the Irish parliament after his return.

“ The assembly in the first place assumed the power of confirming the patent made to the duke, constituting him lieutenant of Ireland for ten years. They enacted, that if any person should imagine, compass, or excite his destruction or death, and for this purpose confederate with the Irish, or any other persons, they should be attainted of high-treason. By an act, calculated to guard the duke and his adherents from all the attempts of his enemies in England, they declared in the fullest manner, that Ireland is, and always has been, incorporated within itself, by ancient laws and customs, and is only to be governed by such laws, as by the lords and commons of the land, in parliament assembled, have been advised, accepted, affirmed, and proclaimed; that by custom, privilege, and franchise, there has ever been a royal seal, peculiar to Ireland, to which alone the subjects are to pay obedience: that this realm hath also its constable and marshal, before whom all appeals are finally determinable; yet, as orders have been of late issued under another seal, and the subjects summoned into England to prosecute their suits before a foreign jurisdiction, to

the great grievance of the people, and in violation of the rights and franchises of the land, they enact, that for the future no persons shall be obliged by any commandment, under any other seal but that of Ireland, to answer any appeal, or any other matter out of the said land, and that no officer, to which such commandment may come, shall put the same into execution, under the penalty of forfeiture of goods and chattels, and one thousand marks; half to be paid to the king, and the other to the prosecutor; and further, that all appeals of treason in Ireland be determinable before the constable and marshal of Ireland, and in no other place.”*

The declaration of rights, issued by the representatives of the English district, on this occasion, shames the memory of the suicide-union parliament.

This parliament gave incontestable evidences of English degeneracy, for hospitality was never an English virtue. Their writers disown it, and transfer it to the unrefined stage of society. To come to issue, once for all, with lying historians and ill-mannered libellers, on the foul epithets they lavish on the antient and modern Irish, without sparing those of English descent any more than the Milesians, I shall not stoop to retort their own Billingsgate, but come to a definition of what civilization means, and the vices opposed thereto; and an appeal to facts shall determine which was most civilized, and which the

* Leland, Vol. II. B. III. c. ii. p. 42, 43.

contrary. Civility, from the Latin *civilis*, civil, and *civis*, citizen, comprehends those qualities that constitute a good member of society. These qualities may be classed into four kinds: the necessary, the useful, the ornamental, and the agreeable. 'Tis necessary, first, that every member of society should procure his maintenance by some profession, some branch of industry, and besides contribute his proportion to the public exigencies of the community, in support of those who must devote their whole time to the public service, whether as governors or judges, for the preservation of internal peace, the execution of the laws, or external defence. The long duration of the Irish monarchy testifies of this quality. A love of justice, and obedience to the laws, are primary ingredients in civilization. Two English authorities attribute this to the antient Irish in an eminent degree. Sir John Davis, long residing as attorney-general among them, affirms, that “no nation in the world loved impartial justice more than the Irish, though it should make against themselves.” Antient authors affirmed the same of the Scythians, calling them, “the most just of mankind. The words *Scoti* and *Scythians* are synonymous; the latter being formed from *Scuith*, the plural of *Scot*. Hence the modern Persians call *Scythia* *Chothan*; and the Fingallians call the north *Gothan*, which originally was *Scothan*. Lord Howth says, “the Irish obey the laws, framed for them on their hills, better than the English do theirs, framed by parliament in walled

towns." The virtue of hospitality, though not so essential to the existence of society, is yet highly graceful, and consolatory to the feelings. It is one for which Ireland was always famous, according to the testimony of all nations, not excepting the English. It was practised by the patriarchs, and by the most renowned nations of antiquity. It constituted one of the most endearing pledges of friendship among the Greeks, Romans, and Gathelians. 'Tis enforced by a tremendous threat in the gospel, "Whatever house you enter, greet them with shalam, i. e. peace, and if they receive you not, shake your shoe-dust in testimony against them. Verily, I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorra, on the last day, than for them." Coimric, i. e. sanctuary, was an Irish custom, much reprobated by the English; yet it was established among the chosen people, by divine authority, in order to prevent the summary execution of vengeance, untill the first ebullitions of anger abated, and mediation or judgment could determine the case. The exercise of this institution, confirmed by divine authority, towards their kinsmen, the Segidenses, brought the Roman arms on the Numantines, and the arms of England on the O'Moores, for their protection of their enemy, Fitz-Gerald.

Another proof of civilized society is, its competence to provide all necessaries for itself. Now the Irish nation not only supplied themselves with all sorts of manufactures of necessity, but even of elegance, and exported besides. A flou-

rishing agriculture, cloth and linen manufactures, iron and timber works, curious workmanship in gold and silver yearly dug up and sent to the mint, a circumstance belonging to no other country in Europe. They had breweries and distilleries. They cultivated medicine in all its branches; of which respectable monuments still remain on vellum, and in the traditions of their posterity, with which cures are wrought that baffle modern skill. All the great monasteries, that were colleges, had botanic gardens; as Mr. White, of the botanic garden, Glasnevin, has proved, from the number of exotic plants still growing wild about their ruins.

The knowledge of the Irish in astronomy was evidently greater before Christianity than since; to which department, some fragments of their books on astronomy, still preserved, attest their attention. They spoke a language copious and elegant beyond any cotemporary, which the remains of their compositions in poetry and prose abundantly evince. Their music was acknowledged, by their bitterest enemies, incomparably superior to that of the neighbouring nations; and the remains thereof, preserved in Ireland, Scotland, and England, though plagiarized, leave no doubt on that head. If music be sentiment guided by harmony, they possessed, in the perfection of sublime simplicity, the most soul-moving melody, never descending to the caterwauling semidemiquavers of some farraginous, incongruous, unmeaning overtures. Spencer, from imperfect translations, was enabled to perceive

the beauty of the original compositions of the Irish bards, and the samples published by Miss Brookes, shew that nothing equal to them in harmony and sentiment was at that time produced in Europe. In fact, literature was so deeply interwoven in the constitution, laws and customs of the Gathelians; every man's consequence and rights depended so much on records; a passion for literature, especially history, poetry, and music, was so firmly engrafted in the Milesians, that it could not be extirpated without the extirpation of the nation. Every clan had hereditary lawyers, hereditary historians, hereditary physicians, hereditary bards, combining poetry and music. Thus family interest was interested in the improvement and preservation of every art and profession; every generation was sedulous to hand down the records, containing the rules and improvement of each profession, to their posterity. Though hereditary possessions may possibly not be the best suited for the rapid progress of arts and sciences, they afford the greatest security for their conservation. Hence the Danish wars of two hundred years, and the English and Irish wars of four hundred years continuance, were unable to pluck up the strong and deep roots of Irish learning, untill the nation and it fell together. Even still there is no such general passion for learning to be found in the bulk of the people in any other country, working against a current of obstacles and oppression.

The fate of English literature was quite different; because it had not such deep roots in the

constitution. The wars, tyranny and policy of the Danes, succeeded to crush, what the Gathelians generously kindled there, to a half-smothered ember; so that, untill the Norman conquest, few barons could write their names. “ In former times many farms and manors were given by bare word, without writing, only with the sword of the lord on his headpiece, with a horne or a standing goblet; and many tenements with a quill, with a horse combe, with a bow, with an arrow.”*

It was already observed, that the exports of England were raw materials, and its imports manufactured goods. Not alone in Westminster-abbey, but in all the great buildings in England, the workmen, as well as the oak, were sought in Ireland. That they were inferior in every art. That their music and their poetry were contemptible, in the judgment of their countrymen, as soon as they heard the lively rapidity, and soul-animating strains of Milesian bards. They are called upon to name a single virtue, civil or religious, a single feature of civilization, imported by them into this ill-fated island. They brought nothing with them but rapacious indigence, and plenty of vice, by which they corrupted the primitive simplicity of the natives. They paled themselves in their districts, in boorish selfishness, like hogs in a sty; excluding all intercourse with an enlightened civilized people, whether of friendship or business, alliance,

* Hayward's Life of William I.

charity or religion. Their barbarous lawgivers prohibited access to Irish poets, musicians, and novellists; least they should, as they alledged, “corrupt the imaginations of the settlers.” Can we call such people any thing but barbarians, who excluded from their villains (their tenants were held in villanage) those very branches of the fine arts, fitted to harmonize the feelings and civilize the man—“Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast.” They talk of degenerate English! Yes. There were degenerate English, who adopted social virtues for unsocial churlishness; who obeyed the law of nature, in conforming to the laws, customs and manners of the nation: what a handful of strangers always are inclined, and indeed bound to do, when nothing is found in them repugnant to religion and morality. There were many, who exchanged an uncouth, barren and barbarous jargon, such was the English then, for an elegant, copious, and expressive language. Many could not be restrained by all the severities of penal laws, even the threat of death itself, from this degeneracy. They felt their pretended degeneracy to be a transition from barbarity to civilization; and the fascinating attraction of social virtues, and elegant amusements, drew many to the Gathelians, in despite of penal laws, and the commination of forfeiture and death. Were there no English who did not degenerate? Yes, surely. Those who followed precedents laid by their forefathers, who copied domestic examples, a few of which are here inserted, did not degenerate.

William the Conqueror, after having defeated the English, at the memorable battle of Hastings, in which their king, Harold, lost his crown and life, “ the wayes where he passed being as free from resistance, as his thoughts were from change, whether it were upon licentiousness after the late victorie, or whether for want of necessary provision, or whether to strike a terrour into the English, or whether to leave no danger at his backe, he permitted the sword to range at large, to harrie freely, to defile many places with ruine and blood.”*

The Conqueror “ secured himself against his” new “ subjects, not by altering their will, but by taking away their power to rebell. The stoutest of the nobilitie and gentlemen were spent, either by warre, or by banishment, or by voluntary avoidance out of the realme. All these hee stripped of their states, and in place of them advanced his Normans: insomuch as scarce any noble familie of the English blood did beare either office or authoritie within the realme.”†

In the reign of William Rufus, the earls of Chester and Shrewsbury took the island of Anglesey. “ The Welsh that were there taken, were very hardly, or rather unmercifully and cruelly entreated; some had their eyes pulled out, some their hands cut off, some their armes, some their noses, some their genitalles. An aged priest, named Kenredus, who had bene a chief directer of the common affaires, was drawne out

* Hayward's *Lives of the three Norman Kings*, p. 80.

† *Ibid.* p. 86.

of a church whereinto he had fled, had one of his eyes pulled out, and his tongue torne from his throat.”*

Henry IV. of England, dissatisfied with the duke of Gloucester, “ entered into counsaile with John Holland, earle of Huntington, his halfe brother, and Thomas Mowbray, earle of Nottingham, howe the duke of Gloucester might be suppressed or oppressed rather. The cruelty which was but wavering in the king, yea wanting by nature, was soone confirmed by evil advise: and being once inclined to blood, he did not faile, either of example of lewd action to follow: or direction of cruell counsaile what to doe: so the plotte was contrived, and according thereto, the king and the earle of Nottingham rode together into Essex, as though it were to disport themselves in hunting: when they were in the midst of the forrest, the earle made staye, and the king passed forth with a small and unsuspecting company to the duke, lying at Plashey; there he stayed dinner: and then pretending occasion of present returne, he desired the duke to accompany him to London. the faire entreatie of a prince, is a most forcible commaunde: therefore the duke suppesing that onely to bee intended in deede, which was pretended in shewe, went to horse-backe with the king, taking such small attendance, as upon the sudden could be in a readinesse, and appointing the rest to come after him to London. So they rode to

* Hayward's Lives of the three Norman Kings, p. 172.

gether, using much familiar talke by the way, untill they came neere the place of await: then the king put his horse forward, and the duke coming behinde, was suddenly intercepted and stayed, crying aloud, and calling to the king for his helpe: the king continued his journey, as though he had not heard: and the duke was violently carried to the Thames, and there shipped in a vessel layed for the purpose, and from thence conveyed over to Calice.”*

In the reign of Henry IV. Owen Glendor, a Welsh esquire, endeavoured to expel the English from Wales. “ That his aspiring and ambitious humour might beare some shew of honest meaning, he pretended to his countrymen the recoverie of their free estate, the desire whereof was so naturally sweete, that even wilde birdes will rather live hard, lye at large in the ayre, then bee daintily dyeted by others in a cage; and opportunitie was at that time fitly offered, or else never to be expected, to rid them of their thraldome, falsely and colourable intituled a peace, whilst the one king’s power was waining, and the other not yet fullye wexen, and either of them grew weake by wasting the other: neither was their any difference which of them should prevayle, sithe the war touched both alike, inso-much as the overthrow would ruine the one, and the victorie the other. So hee exhorted them to take courage and armes; and first to kill all the English within their territories, for libertie and

* Hayward’s *Life and Raigne of Henry IV.* p. 36, 37

lordes could not endure together; then to resume their auncient customes and lawes, whereby more then armes, common-wealths are established and enlarged: so should they bee a people uncorrupt, without admixtion of forreine manners of bloud; and so should they forget servitude, and eyther live at libertie, or else, perhaps, bee lordes over other.

“ Heereupon many flocked unto him, the best for love of libertie, the basest for desire of bootie and spoil, insomuch as in short time hee became commaunder of competent forces to stand openly in the fiede. And being desirous to make some prooffe of his prowesse, he sharply set upon his ould adversarie Reignold, lorde Grey of Ruthen, whose possessions he wasted and spoyled: slew many of his men, and tooke himself prisoner....

“ The Welshmen being confident uppon this successe, began to breake into the borders of Herefordshire, and to make spoyle and pray of the countrey, against whom lord Edmund Mortimer, earle of Marche, who for feare of king Henrie had withdrawne himselfe (as hath been declared) to Wiggomore Castle, assembled all the gentlemen of the countrey, and meeting with the Welshmen, they joyned together a sharpe and cruell conflict: not in forme of a loose skirmish, but standing still and maintaining their place, they endeavoured with maine might to breake and beare downe one another. The courage and resolution of both sides was alike, but the Welshmen were superiour both for number and direction, for they were conducted by

one knowne leader, who with his presence every where assisted at neede, enflaming his soldiours, some with shame and reproofe, others with praise and encouragement, all with hope and large promises ; but the Englishmen, had no certaine generall, but many confused commaunders, yea every man was a commaunder to himselfe, pressing forward or drawing backe as his owne courage or feare did moove him. Insomuch as no doubt they had taken a great blow that day by theyr ill governed bouldnesse, had not Owen Glendor presently uppon the breaking up of the field ceased to pursue the execution, and shewed himself more able to get a victorie, then skilful to use it. But even to his side the victorie had cost bloud, and many of those which remayned, were eyther wounded or wearie: the night was neere also, and they were in their enemies countrie; by which meanes our men had libertie to retire rather then runne away, no man being hoat to follow the chase. They lost of their company about a thousand men, who sould their lives at such a price, that when manhood had doone the hardest against them, certaine man-nish, or rather devilish women, whose malice is immortall, exercised a vaine revenge uppon their dead bodyes," in a manner too brutal to be here inserted, " and would not not suffer their mangled carcasses to be committed to the earth, untill they were redeemed with a great summe of money."*

* Hayward's Life and Raigue of Henry IV. p. 140, &c.

Henry IV. “entred into Scotland with a puissant armie; wherewith hee burnt many villages and townes, cast downe diverse castles, and ruined a great part of the townes of Edenborough and Lith, sparing nothing but churches and religious houses: so that in all places as he passed, the spectacle was ougly and grislie which he left behind him; bodyes torn in peeces, mangled and putrified limmes, the ayre infected with stincke, the ground imbrued with corruption and bloud, the countrie wasted, the grasse and corne troden downe and spoyled; insomuch as a man would have sayde that warre is an exercise not of manhood, but of inhumanitie.”*

In the reign of Edward VI. a sedition, which had spread over a considerable part of England, being “broken and beaten downe, Sir Anthony Kingston, provost-marshal of the king’s army, was deemed by many not only cruell, but uncivill and inhumane in his executions. One Boyer, mayor of Bodmin, in Cornwall, was observed to have beene among the seditious, but by absolute enforcement as many others were. The marshal wrote to him a letter that he would dine at his house upon a day which he appointed; the mayor seemed glad, and made for him the best provision that he could. Upon the day he came, and a large company with him, and was received with many ceremonies of entertainment. A little before dinner he took the mayor aside, and whispered him in the eare, that execution must that

* Hayward’s Life and Raigne of Henry IV. p. 146.

day be done in the towne, and therefore required him that a paire of gallows should be framed and erected, against the time that dinner should end; the mayor was diligent to accomplish his demand, and no sooner was the dinner ended, but he demanded of the mayor whether the work were finished, the mayor answered that all was ready, I pray you, said the provost, bring me to the place, and therewith he tooke him friendly by the hand; here beholding the gallows, he asked the mayor whether he thought them to be strong enough, yes, said the mayor, doubtlesse they are; well then, said the provost, get you up speedily, for they are prepared for you. I hope, answered the mayor, you meane not as you speak; in faith, said the provost, there is no remedy, for you have beene a busie rebel; and so without respite or defence he strangled to death.....

“ Divers others were executed by martial law, and a great part of the country was abandoned to the spoile of the souldiers, who not troubling themselves to discerne betweene a subject and a rebel, whilst their liberty lasted, made indifferently profit of both.”*

A transaction occurred, during the deputyship of the duke of York, which deserves notice, as illustrative of national character. Three centuries had now elapsed, since the elopement of O'Rourk's spouse with the sexagenarian, Diarmuid Mac Murchad, king of Leinster; and but two instances of crim. con. have been noticed

* Hayward's Life and Raigne of Edward V I. p. 64.

during that long period. The antient Irish, as chaste as prolific, regarded the illicit intercourse of the sexes with abhorrence. A high sense of honor, and religious sentiment, bridled the natural impetuosity of that passion, implanted for the preservation of the human race, and which, when legitimate, is the fountain of many social virtues. The adultery of Mac Murchad lost him the hearts of all his people, and occasioned his flight, and his introduction of the English into Ireland. A similar transgression of conjugal fidelity raised a storm against O'Neil, the most powerful of the Irish princes, to whose force he was obliged to submit. He had put away his lawful wife, daughter to Mac Murchad, king of Leinster, and niece to the earl of Ormond, and took to his bed the daughter of Burke, earl of Clanrickard. Every motive of ambition, family pride, and jealousy of a rival house, instigated Ormond to form a confederacy against him. The cause was popular among a religious people, lovers of justice, and would furnish an opportunity of displaying more than the natural resources and power possessed by himself and the Pale. In conjunction with the lord lieutenant and other allies, all of whom are not named by the annalists, he undertook the important expedition. When the uncle professed so much zeal for the queen of Ulster, is it likely her father, the king of Leinster, would neglect her cause? Every chieftain whom he visited, on this honorable errand, readily submitted to his demands; and gave aid in an

enterprize which drew on him the blessings of the clergy and laity.

In their progress they burned O'Dempsey's castle of Leix, and released the son of Bermingham, therein confined. In the King's county, O'Connor readily submitted; and O'Farrell, in Longford, supplied them with provisions. They razed the castle of Barcha, and laid waste the neighbouring country. The O'Reilly's in Cavan, and also Mac Mahon, in the plains of Louth, readily acquiesced to their demands. Thence marching against O'Neil, with an army augmented by the forces of the chieftains through whose territories they passed, they compelled him to put away the daughter of William de Burgh, with whom he unlawfully cohabited, and take back his own lawful wife, the daughter of Mac Murchad, and niece of Ormond.

The following statement of the relation of Ireland to England, and the causes of the violent antipathy of the latter towards the former, may be acceptable from the pen of a colonial writer, who is not liable to the suspicion of a bias against the settlers.

“ It is indeed generally imagined and represented, that the bloody wars, between the families of Lancaster and York, had a violent and dangerous effect upon the native Irish, in exciting them to a general confederacy, and raising their whole powers against the English pale. But we have, from their own annalists, more particular accounts of the transactions of the distinguished septs, at this period, than these

jejune remains usually afford. And, had any considerable attempts been made against the English, these writers would have gloried in displaying them. They tell us indeed of some petty insurrections against particular settlements of the English, and record, with triumph, that they were averted by the payment of tribute. But they are particular in relating the contests, invasions, and engagements, in which their chieftains were involved with each other, which are generally so futile, and sometimes so horrid, as to raise no suspicion of art or fallacy in their annalists. The representations, made in England of this people and their conduct, were generally false and interested, to magnify the zeal of the great lords, to procure remittances for a chief governor, or to conceal the offences and irregularities of either. The English vicegerents, even of the very best dispositions, were kept in ignorance during their residence, and shut up in the seat of government from any knowledge of the native Irish, or any general intercourse even with the most peaceable among them. They received their information through corrupted channels: it was transmitted and believed. But the truth is, that the contest for the crown of England, during this period of carnage, had its principal effect, in Ireland, on the great lords entrusted with the administration, or possessed of power and influence. Vicegerents unnoticed, and unrestrained by the throne, were tempted to exercise their authority with an intemperate and unjust severity. Slight pretences,

or false representations, served for loading the subjects with oppressive taxes. Different parliaments were summoned at the interval of a few months, and repeated subsidies imposed without necessity, and beyond the abilities of the people: a grievance so flagrant and so severe, that, by a law made in the thirty-fourth year of this present reign, it was forbidden to hold more than one parliament in a year; and, if the chief governor should issue his writs for summoning another within the year, it was enacted that the persons summoned might without peril refuse to appear, and that the acts of such a parliament should be void. The law, however, was but temporary, to continue for three years. The great lords, who were ever rivals to each other, were at the same time less restrained; and by mixing in the contests of England enflamed their resentments, and were ready to rush against each other in all the phrenzy of political and personal animosity.”*

As every revolution in England affected Ireland more or less, since the first connexion of the two countries, the triumph of the house of York over that of Lancaster, was a victory to the Fitzgeralds and a defeat to the Butlers. No sooner was Edward IV. seated on the throne, after the deposition of Henry VI. than he confirmed the earl of Kildare in the government of the Pale, to which he had been provisionally appointed by the prevailing par-

* Leland, Vol. II. B. III. c. ii. p. 45, 46.

tizans of York. To him succeeded George, duke of Clarence, appointed governor for life. In reward for their attachment to the reigning family, Fitz-Eustace was created baron of Port-lester, and Barnwall, baron of Trimblestown. The earl of Ormond was sacrificed to the vengeance of the triumphant party, executed, and a general war was declared against the name of Butler. Sir John, brother and heir to the earl, fled into Ireland, accompanied by the remnant of the Lancastrian faction; where, being joined by his followers, he boldly defied the king's deputy. Had not the earl of Desmond, a zealous partizan of the reigning house, taken up arms against their enemy, rival of his family, Fitz-Eustace might have experienced some difficulty in the encounter. He collected a numerous army of his followers and allies, pursued the Ormondians into the county of Wexford, which town they had taken, challenged and defeated them in a pitched battle. Elated by this success, and by his elevation to the deputyship, as a recompence for his services, he considered himself more powerful than any Irish chieftain; but an incident happened in Meath, frequent between the antient and new Irish, that undeceived him, and completely humbled his pride.

One of the settlers, by name Petit, of which name and family the marquis of Lansdowne is, endeavoured to encroach on the southern Hy-Nialls, known then by the name of Melachlin, formerly sovereigns of the two Meaths, and often monarchs of Ireland, but then pent up in the

northern part, bordering on Brefny O'Reilly. Even the remnant of that once powerful family were able to beat off Petit and his marauders; but deputy Desmond, in proof of his loyalty to the English interest, marched with a powerful army, to support the usurpation of the invader. The neighbouring chieftain, O'Reilly, powerful in cavalry, independently of national, had particular interest in this quarrel. He did not wish to have the Pale exactly contiguous to his territory, or himself and his people to be annoyed by banditti, issuing from castles they would not fail to build on their new acquisitions. The chieftain of east Brefny, (County of Cavan), valiant as wise, collected his forces secretly and speedily, and gave the earl of Desmond a total overthrow, took him and his principal officers prisoners, and, at the intercession of young O'Connor Faly, dismissed them without ransom.

The scribblers of the English colony, with their accustomed effrontery, talk of the insurgents of Brefny on this occasion; as if an independent prince, who acknowledged no subjection to the crown of England, and who, in all state papers, was styled an enemy, never rebel, like any other sovereign potentate, could be designated by such language.

The earl of Desmond and his officers, were fortunate in falling into the hands of a generous enemy, unaccustomed to massacre prisoners of war. Mortified by this act of Milesian generosity, it was during his administration, that the bitterest acts were passed, breathing fiend-like

enmity to the antient race. Acts, when we consider the impotence, as well as the malignity of the Pale, of a nature to excite alternately, laughter, contempt, scorn and horror. Anno 1461, at Trim, an act, setting a price on the heads of Milesians, going from, or coming into any part of the Pale, if he or they be not in company with an Englishman of good repute, wearing English apparel. An act, that every Irishman, living among the English settlers, shall change their surnames, speak English, and wear English apparel. An act, that no ship or other vessel, of any foreign country, shall go fish to Irish countries.* The impotence of the Pale, to execute its malice on the old stock, is attested by two acts, ordering its inhabitants to be armed en masse, and trained to war, from the age of sixteen to sixty. Shortly after passing those furious edicts, against a people, whose unsuspecting generosity and alliance raised his family to the rank of princes, he closed his administration with an ignominious death. Tiptoft came from

* “At the request of the commons, that where divers vessels of other lands fro one day to other going to fish amongst the king’s Irish enemies in divers parts of this said land, by which the king’s said enemies be greatly advanced and strengthened as well in victuals, harneys, armour, as divers other necessities also great tributes of money, given by every of the said vessels to the said enemies from day to day to the great augmentation of their power and force against the king’s honour and wealth, and utter destruction of this said land, whereupon the premises considered, it is enacted and ordeyned by authoritie of the said parliament, that no manner vessell of other lands shall be no time nor season of

England, as deputy, with secret orders, 'tis said, to compass the destruction of Desmond. He beheaded him at Drogheda, having first procured his conviction of high treason, by the parliament of the Pale ; a fate which he met in his turn, on his return to England. Nevertheless, the fortunes of the Geraldines, destined to pave the way for the overthrow of the Milesians, were again restored by the earl of Kildare. He boldly repaired to the king of England, expatiated on the services of his family to the English interest, and Edward IV. satisfied with his explanation, appointed him his deputy in Ireland. It need not be added, that Kildare restored the honors of his family, and summoned a parliament obsequious to his wishes, confirming his acts and those of Desmond, and condemning their adversaries. The temporary revolution, effected in England by the earl of Warwick, restoring Henry VI. to the throne, left Kildare undisturbed in the government of the English colony. The measures he adopted

the year from henceforth, from the feast of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ next coming, go in no part of the said land betwixt the said Irish enemies to no manner fishing without one special licence of the lieutenant, his deputy or justice of the land for the time being or licence of another person having the king's power to graunt such licence, upon pain of forfeiture of the ship and goods to the king, and that what-soever person or persons, that find or impeach any of the said vessels, rumpants or forfeits against this act by the authoritie of the same it be lawful to them so making any claim in the behalf of the king and approving the said forfeitures by any of the said vessels so to be made that the

for the defence of the Pale, demonstrate the nullity of its resources; and that it was not power, but will, the antient proprietors wanted, to pluck that deleterious thorn out of their side. Against Irish enemies and English rebels, how formidable were the forces he mustered for the defence of the colony? Just one hundred and sixty archers, and sixty pikemen, twenty-four of whom were to be commanded by his son Gerald. In addition to this terrible army, he formed an armed association, to be headed by the chief settlers. In the county of Kildare by the earl himself, lord Portlester, and sir Rowland Eustace. For the county of Dublin, lord Howth, the mayor of Dublin, and sir Robert Dowdal. In the county of Meath, lord Gormanston, Plunket and Barnwall. In Oriel, (county of Louth) the mayor of Drogheda, sir Lawrence Taaffe, and Richard Bellew.

If the reader could be amused with a detail of the petty transactions of the English colony, or the family quarrels of the Butlers and Fitz-

king shall have the one moietie of the said forfeiture, and the said persons or person shall have the other without any impeachment, and that all manner vessels of other lands coming in the said land of Ireland a fishing, being of the burthen of twelve tunns or less, having one drover or boate, every of them to paye for the maintenance of the king's wars there thirteen shillings four pence by the yeare. And all other small vessels, as scarfes or boats, not having drover nor lighter being within the said burthen of twelve tunns, every of them shall pay two shillings going a fishing in like manner. Provided always, that no vessel fishing in the north part of Wicklo, be charged by reason of this act, and that

Geralds, he will to satiety find the pages of English writers stuffed with these uninteresting narratives. One circumstance, however, may be constantly observed, in the conduct of their puny senate, a great attention to their own interest, and a stern opposition to English encroachments. A native of England was appointed deputy by Edward IV. without consulting the colonists. He was opposed and disowned. Kildare kept the lieutenancy; Keating, prior of Kilmainham, governor of the castle, refused him entrance. After a few ineffectual attempts to appoint an Englishman born, Gerald Fitz-Gerald held the reins of government over the English district, to which he first gave consequence, by his policy, and his alliance with Conbacach O'Nial. The settlers throve wonderfully on the fertile soil of Erin. The family of de Burgo (Burk) had alliance with the kings of Scotland and England; but the alliance with O'Nial was far more important to the aggrandizement of Fitz-Gerald, and of more fatal

the lieutenant, his deputie or justice of the land for the time being, shall have the foresaid summes and duties of money so paid, to be employed in the king's wars for the defence of the said land, and that the customers and collectors of the same summes, shall account before the said justice, lieutenant or deputie for the time being, or such auditors that shall be for the same appointed by the king or them, and not before the barons of the exchequer in the said land, and that none of the said vessels so coming from other parts in the said land, shall not depart out of the said land, till every of them pay their said duties, upon pain of forfeiture of the vessells and goods to the king.

consequence to the Hibernian interest. We need no longer be surprized, that he was continued in the government during the changes of England; even when out of administration, he was of more real weight and power, through his Irish connexions, than the deputy governor of the colony.

These alliances, fatal to the antient Irish, and prohibited by the barbarous bigotry of the English popish parliament of the Pale, were the wisest plans that could be devised, not only for the aggrandizement of a leading family, but for the preservation of the Anglo-Irish interest. O'Byrne and O'Toole were still powerful in the vicinity of Dublin; so that a popish Pale parliament, at the instigation of Kildare, allowed the archbishop of Dublin to present Irish clerks to benefices within their districts, for two years. Admirable condescension! to grant two years respite of the exclusion of Irish catholics from benefices founded by their own kindred.

In the connexion of the two islands nothing material occurs, during the short reigns of Edward V. and Richard III. The accession of Henry VII. of the house of Lancaster, made some impression, where the majority were decided Yorkists. Notwithstanding that Kildare, and all his creatures in office, were known to be of that party, yet his alliance with O'Neil made him too formidable to be displaced or provoked. The Yorkists of England, provoked by some imprudent steps of Henry VII. inflaming their party prejudice, courted their Irish partizans. The scene that ensued thereon, shews with what

caution historical narratives of civil commotions must be received. The question is, whether a Robert Simnel, or the earl of Warwick might have escaped out of prison, and fled to the colony, where both power and numbers were for him, than that a youth of mean parentage could personate him, and impose on the leading men, who forwarded the house of York ? It is less improbable, that a victorious party would succeed in discrediting the name and memory of a defeated and slain pretender, than that an ignorant young boy would act a part beyond the abilities of the greatest actor who ever trod the stage. “ He was not to personate an infant taken from his cradle, and known to few, but a lord entertained at the court of Edward to the age of ten years ; one with whom the nobility of the realm had frequently conversed, and were perfectly acquainted. He was to be accurately instructed in many circumstances, and to speak with ease and correctness of various persons and incidents, in which the least failure or mistake must prove fatal to his design.” Leland’s guesses are futile on this subject. He was not sent to Ireland to be distant from severe scrutiny. He was sent to the only place where, with the greatest ease and security, he could raise a force. He came recommended by some of the first nobility in England, who must have well known the young earl of Warwick at court. Kildare himself had personal knowledge of him ; and, therefore, could hardly be deceived. Now he and his privy council, after maturely examining and weighing the evidences

of his birth and titles, were satisfied of his personal identity. Could Margaret of York, second sister of Edward IV. be deceived by a new-born stripling, personating her cousin? yet she lent every aid in her power to the young pretender. Could her sister Elizabeth, and her husband, the earl of Lincoln, be likewise imposed on? However opinions may vary, the Yorkists made some exertions in his behalf. Two thousand men arrived in Ireland from Flanders, under the command of general Swaart; and his solemn coronation took place in Dublin. "He was conducted in due state to the cathedral, called Christ-Church, attended by the lord deputy and officers of state, the English nobles, and all his other adherents. The bishop of Meath explained and enforced his right to the crown from the pulpit; it was formally recognized by all who attended on the ceremony; a crown, said to have been taken from a statue of the Virgin, was placed on his head, amidst the acclamations of the people; and from the church he was conveyed in pomp to the castle of Dublin, elevated on the shoulders of Darcy, chief of a considerable English family of Meath; a ceremony which seems to have been adopted from the native Irish."

Invested with regal authority, in complete possession of the Pale, Simnel proceeded to support his claims to the crown of England, with an Irish army, aided by Swaart and his Belgians. They landed at Foudrey, in Lancashire, marched towards York, where they were disappointed of their expectations of a rising in their favour;

thence to Newark, near which Henry VII. met them with a great army, when one of the most obstinate and bloody battles commenced, that ever took place between forces so disproportionate; and which, in its issue, was most disastrous to Simnel and his adherents. Defeated and taken prisoner, Simnel was placed in the kitchen by Henry; but Swaart, most of the leaders, and almost all the soldiers, too brave to retreat, remained on the field of battle. English writers say, that only the vanguard of the royal army was engaged. No doubt the whole of that great army could not have engaged at once with the paucity of their antagonists; but they might, and probably did, successively, relieving each other. The valour of Swaart and his Belgians, erroneously called Germans in most printed books on this subject, is praised by colonial writers. Very likely commendation was due to them; but the impression made on the public mind, by the strength, agility and desperate valour, displayed by the Irish at the battle of Stoke, extorted the admiration of their enemies. This stimulated the politicians of that day to speculate on the immense advantages that would accrue to England from a more complete connexion with Ireland; an incontrovertible monument of the high notion the Irish taught them to entertain of Irish valour.

“ The late transactions in Ireland, the bold attempt in favour of Simnel, and the desperate valour displayed by the troops led into England by the Geraldines, had made this country the

subject of general discourse and speculation; and the rising spirit of project and enquiry had engaged individuals to search deeply into the revolutions experienced in Ireland, ever since the reign of Henry the Second; the declension of the English interest, the dispositions, temper, and power of the old natives, the designs and competitions of great lords, the conduct of the king's officers, and the means of rendering an appendage to the crown of England, in itself so valuable, of real weight and consequence to the general weal. There is a discourse still extant in some repositories of curious papers, said to have been presented to the king and council, not later than the present period, in which the affairs of Ireland are copiously examined. The author labours to engage the king in the complete reduction and settlement of this country. His hopes of success he founds on a supposed prophecy, that about the present time, this great and important undertaking was to be completed, and that, in consequence, an united army of England and Ireland was to seat the king upon the throne of France, to restore the Greeks, to recover Constantinople, and to make him emperor of Rome. Yet notwithstanding this ridiculous fanaticism of the projector, his researches were accurate, and his policy judicious. He recounts no less than sixty regions of different dimensions, all governed by Irish chieftains, after their antient laws and manners, together with a long catalogue of degenerate English, who had renounced all obedience to government, in the several provinces.

The pale of English law and civil obedience, he confines within the narrow bounds of half the counties of Uriel, Meath, Kildare, Dublin, and Wexford, and the common people of these districts he represents as entirely conforming to the Irish habit and language, although they professed obedience to the laws ; so general had been the intercourse of fostering, marriage and alliance, with the enemy, of which the deputy himself had set the example, and which of consequence he could not restrain. The grievances of these counties, from oppressive exactions, unnatural feuds, expeditions undertaken by deputies from personal animosity, or private interest, to the utter ruin of the subject, and without the least advantage to the state ; laws forgotten, neglected, and defied ; an encreasing degeneracy, a general ignorance, and scandalous inattention to instruct and reform the people, are all detailed fully. The remedies proposed are, a competent force sent out of England to support the authority of a chief governor of integrity and equity ; a strict attention to training the people to the English art of war ; garrisons stationed so as to awe the Irish enemies and rebels, to put an end to local quarrels, and gradually to reduce the whole body of inhabitants to obedience ; equitable and moderate taxation, substituted in the place of arbitrary impositions, with other particular regulations, many of which were afterwards adopted. Such remains of antiquity are not unworthy of notice, as the sentiments and opinions of cotemporaries serve to illustrate and confirm the repre-

sentations collected from history or records.”*
Pandarus sive Salus Populi. MS. Trin. Col. Dub.

Nothing occurs very interesting in the reign of Henry VII. until the desperate battle of Knoctow, in 1504. The historians of the Pale are prolix on a succession of deputies, who did nothing worth mentioning, except the laws of Poynings, and the dissensions raging between powerful families of English descent, which scarcely interest any but their particular posterity. Henry VII. jealous of lords of Irish birth as his deputies, sent over Edward Poynings, with some English forces, to whom having added those of the Pale, he endeavoured to figure as a warrior. He first marched against O’Hanlon, where he was disappointed of his expected glory. His next essay was in the county of Carlow, where he fared no better. The method of warfare, practised by his antagonists, was judicious; in case of a smaller force keeping on the defensive against a greater. “ Instead of marching to the field in all the pomp and pride of chivalry, and engaging in an open and regular battle, they [the Irish] darted upon their prey from inaccessible woods and morasses; to these they retired at the approach of the royal army; from these they again issued upon any prospect of advantage, but before the deputy could draw out his forces, were already vanished, so as to keep him in perpetual terrour and perplexity, without permitting him to strike any decisive blow.”†

* Leland, Vol. II. B. III. c. iv. p. 97, 98.

† Ibid. Vol. II. B. III. c. v. p. 101.

Leland's prejudice here, or his ignorance, is truly pitiable. Did he not know, that military stratagems, preparing victory, reflect the highest honour on a commander? Neither did the Irish always adhere to this desultory and perplexing mode of warfare. Sometimes they fought obstinate battles in the open field; and instances are not wanting, of their giving and accepting challenges to fight on a given day, on chivalrous principles of gallantry.

Poynings, having failed in his martial career, endeavoured to retrieve his honour by a display of legislative capacity. He summoned a parliament at Drogheda, which passed such acts as were qualified to regulate the English district, and confirm the influence of England; of which the following, called Poyning's law, obtained some celebrity, during the struggles of the Irish volunteers for a free trade and a free parliament.

“ Item, at the request of the commons of the land of Ireland, be it ordained, enacted, and established, that at the next parliament that there shall be holden by the king's commandment and licence, wherein amongst other the king's grace intendeth to have a general resumption of his whole revenues, sith the last day of the reign of king Edward the second, no parliament be holden hereafter in the said land, but at such season as the king's lieutenant and council there first do certify the king under the great seal of that land, the causes and considerations and all such acts as to them seemeth should pass in the same parliament, and such

causes, considerations, and acts, affirmed by the king and his council, to be good and expedient for that land, and his licence thereupon, as well in affirmation of the said causes and acts, as to summon the said parliament under his great seal of England had and obtained: that done, a parliament to be had and holden after the form and effect afore-rehearsed; and if any parliament be holden in that land hereafter, contrary to the form and provision aforesaid, it be deemed void and of none effect in law."

Among other acts passed in this parliament, one made it high treason to incite the Irish to make war upon the English; another prohibited any person born in Ireland, from being constable of Dublin, Trim, Leixlip, Athlone, Wicklow, Greencastle, Carlingford, and Gragfergouse; the infamous statutes of Kilkenny were also revived.

Hitherto the English Pale was so inconsiderable, as to be an object of contempt, rather than respect, to the neighbouring chieftains. In this reign, the earl of Kildare raised it to importance, For the long-wished reduction, of those called degenerate English, to obedience, the quarrel of one of them with an Irish chieftain furnished a good pretence. The alliance of the lord of Ireland's deputy, the earl of Kildare, with O'Nial, the most powerful of the Irish princes, furnished the means.

Three castles belonging to O'Kelly having been demolished by Mac William de Burgo, O'Kelly sought the assistance of the lord justice. Gerald Fitz-Thomas, earl of Kildare, then lord

justice, mustered a powerful army, being joined by the nobles of Leath Cuinn, (the northern half of Ireland,) viz. O'Donell (Aodh Roe) and his son; the principal chiefs of Cineal-Conaill, and a party of the Conatians, viz. O'Connor Roe, and Mac Dermott, lord of Moy-luirg; the chiefs of Ulster, except O'Nial, who were, Art, son of Aodh O'Nial, tanist of Cineal Eogain; (a district in Ulster,) Donall, the son of Magenis; Mac Mahon and O'Hanlon; O'Reilly; O'Farrell, commonly called the bishop; O'Connor-Failge; the O'Kellys, and even the sons of William de Burgo; and the forces of almost all Leath Cuinn in general. This numerous and combined army being assembled, marched into Clanrickard, against Mac William de Burgo, who had also mustered a great army. Those who joined him, on that occasion, were as follows: Turlogh, son of Teige O'Brien, lord of Thomond, and his brothers, with all their forces; the Mac Nemaras; O'Carroll, lord of Ely, with all his clans and chieftains, joined by the nobles of Ormond and Ara. Mac William and O'Brien held a council of war, in which, with the assent of their chiefs, they came to the brave and spirited resolution, not to submit, but by arms to decide the contest.

At Knocktow, within five miles of Galway, on the 19th of August, 1504, was fought the most memorable, the most bloody battle that stains the Irish annals. "Such was the vehemence, and such the obstinacy of it, that, at a great distance from the field of action might be distinctly heard, the violent attack of the martial chiefs; the ve-

hement blows of the champions; the desperate charge of the royal heroes; the noise of the nobles running through the ranks; the clamour of the troops, when thrown into confusion; the cries and exultations of the victorious youths; the sound of the brave men falling to the ground, and the continued deroute of the inferior soldiery by the nobility. The battle ended with the defeat of Mac William, O'Brien, and the chiefs of Leath-Modha; (the southern half of Ireland.) Among the slain was Morogh, the son of O'Brien. Of the nine battalions of galloglasses, which were of their party, only one escaped, and that much broken. An incredible number of the lord-justice's forces were also slain, though victory favoured his side.*

In this terrible conflict the brave fell by the axe of the brave, and they were pursued with slaughter by enemies equally swift. It was a day of exultation and triumph to the partizans of England, a day of grief and consternation to all the wise well-wishers of Ireland, a sad presage and sure forerunner of its final overthrow. In proportion as that sanguinary day raised the spirits of the Pale, it dejected the Milesians of foresight, as it removed every reasonable hope of concert between the north and south for mutual defence. Con O'Nial, chieftain of Tyrone, seems not to have approved of this war; since, though kinsman of Kildare, he did not join him in it.

* In the memorials remaining of this present

* *Annals of Dunnagall.*

period, written by an Englishman, we are told, that immediately after the victory of Knocktow, lord Gormanstown turned to the earl of Kildare, in the utmost insolence of success: "We have slaughtered our enemies," said he, "but, to complete the good deed, we must proceed yet further,—cut the throats of those Irish of our own party;"* Kildare replied, "'Tis too soon yet."

In treating of the subjugation of pretended degenerates, it is of importance to Irish history, to find strong evidence from a writer commonly partial to the English side of the question. "This degeneracy we find commonly imputed to a lawless spirit of riot and disorder, impatient of the restraint of English law; a contagion indeed too readily caught by men who live in a state of perpetual warfare, without refinement or discipline. But some part of it may reasonably be imputed to the weakness of English government, which left remoter districts unrestrained and undefended, so that the inhabitants were necessarily obliged to court the alliance and support of the neighbouring Irish clans. The mutual wants of both parties, induced a correspondence; and that good-natured sociability and hospitality, by which the Irish were distinguished, improved and extended it. The warm and powerful affection of the sexes, free from the artificial restraints of civility and refinement, knows no distinction of race or families. Laws forbade

* Book of Howth, M.S.

all intermarrying with the Irish; but laws were insignificant barriers against the humanity, and the power of mutual intercourse and affection. But whatever causes may be assigned for it, the old English race had by this time proceeded so far towards a coalition with the old natives, that even in the Pale, and the very seat of government, the Irish manners and language were generally predominant. And it may be doubted whether such effect could possibly have been produced, if the old natives had ever been possessed invariably and unalterably with that inveterate national aversion, to which their repeated insurrections are commonly ascribed. The solution was easy, and might have served the purposes of a selfish policy; but there are other causes to be assigned: and candour must acknowledge that national prejudices and aversions are as generally predominant in those who possess superior power, who are impatient of opposition, and provoked at any appearance of rivalship in men whom they are habituated to regard as inferiors. In the remains of the old Irish annalists, we do not find any considerable rancour expressed against the English. They even speak of the actions and fortunes of great English lords with affection and sympathy.

At the accession of Henry VIII. the relative position of the two nations was such, as should have alarmed Irishmen, had they any policy. The titles of York and Lancaster, united in that

* Leland, Vol. II. Book III. c. v. p. 119, 120.

imperious monarch, delivered England from the distractions of civil wars. Being farther freed from burdensome continental possessions, she was possessed of liberty and leisure to turn her ambition towards Ireland, rent by incurable divisions; a nation literally dismembered into sixty or seventy petty states, and still pursuing their unfortunate quarrels.

During this reign, the earl of Kildare, having strengthened himself by alliances with powerful Irish chieftains, ruled longer, as deputy, than any of his predecessors, and with unbounded sway. But for having laid the foundation of English power in Ireland, his services to the crown of England were requited in a very unexpected manner. The king was prepossessed against him, partly by cardinal Wolsey, his mortal enemy; and in part by representations of malpractices, sent over by the enemies of his house. He remanded him over to England, to give an account of his conduct; and, on his arrival, committed him to the tower. Before this misfortune he received the mortification of a defeat, anno 1522, acting against O'Donnel, of Tyrconnel, in conjunction with one of the greatest confederacies formed in Ireland. O'Nial sent to O'Donnel, "pay me tribute—or if." O'Donnel returned answer in the laconic manner; O'Donnel to O'Nial, "I owe you no tribute—and if." War immediately ensued between the two chieftains; and the magnitude of the preparations, made by O'Nial against the chieftain of Tyrconnel, proves the high opinion entertained of

his military talents. These preparations, and this war, are thus related in the annals of Dunagal. “ An. 1522. A desperate war broke out between O’Donell and O’Nial. Mac William of Clanrickard, the English and Irish chiefs of Connaught, the O’Briens, the O’Kennedys and the O’Carrolls, joined and leagued with O’Nial against O’Donell. The nobles or chiefs, who came from the west, with their forces, on that expedition, were Mac William of Clanrickard, and a party of the O’Briens, viz. Donogh and Teige, the sons of Turlogh O’Brien, and the young bishop O’Brien, Maolruana O’Carroll, the O’Kennedy’s; with them the Conatians, who until then were under tribute, and proved faithful subjects to O’Donell, viz. O’Connor-Roe, O’Connor-Don, the son of William de Burgo, and Mac Dermott of Moyluirg. These promised to join O’Nial about the middle of August. O’Nial assembled the forces of Cineal Eogain, (Derry, Tyrone and Armagh,) the Mac Genisses, those of Oirgialla, (Louth,) the O’Reillys, the people of Fermanagh, and a great number of Scotch auxiliaries, under the command of Alexander Mac Donald. O’Nial’s mother being the daughter of the earl of Kildare, a strong body of English troops, together with a great number of the galloglasses of Leinster, composed of the Mac Donalds and Mac Sheehys, came and joined them.

“ O’Donell also assembled his small but faithful army, in Cineal-Conaill, viz. O’Boyle, O’Dogherty, the three Mac Sweenys, the

O'Gallaghers, and stationed them, under his son Magnus, at Port-na-Tri-Namhad, (the port of the three enemies,) a narrow pass through which he supposed O'Nial would endeavour to enter Tir-Connell. O'Nial, apprized of this, marched through Tyrone, unexpectedly, into Fermanagh, and thence to Ballyshannon, where he laid siege to the castle, which, though ably defended by Brian-an-Cobhlaigh, was taken by O'Nial, who put Brian and most of his forces to the sword, on the second day of June.

“ When O'Donell had intelligence of O'Nial's march, to cause a diversion, he ordered his son Magnus to enter Tyrone, and ravage the country; whilst with the main body of the army, he went in quest of O'Nial. As soon as O'Nial was acquainted that Magnus had entered Tyrone, he crossed the river Finn, and marched as far as Kenmair, laying waste the country, but Magnus, meantime, having executed his orders, returned from Tyrone in triumph. O'Donnell, finding it impossible to overtake O'Nial, returned, and having united his forces with the army of Magnus, directed his route to the plain of Dromline, to give battle to O'Nial. Here he held a council of war, in which it was determined to attack O'Nial by night, though his army was much stronger than O'Donell's, before he was joined by the Conatian forces. But O'Nial, having intelligence of their intentions, took every possible precaution to prevent being surprised.

“ O'Donell having animated and arranged

his small force, ordered them to forsake their horses, confident then, that once engaged, they must conquer or die. On their approach, the advanced guards of O'Nial gave the alarm; on which the forces of O'Donell rushed on so vigorously, that they and the advanced guards entered the camp, pell-mell. On falling in with each other they raised loud and clamorous shouts. The troops of O'Nial received the charge bravely; both armies engaged with the greatest obstinacy; but after a severe conflict, O'Nial was defeated, with considerable loss. After this victory O'Donnell marched to the relief of Sligo, then besieged by the Conatian army. But, panic-struck on his approach, having received intelligence of his victory, they made proposals of peace, raised the siege, and fled precipitately to the Curlew mountains, where the Conatian army dispersed."

Here was a great display of conduct and valour, talents with which the Island of Saints and heroes abounded; but which, alas! availed her nothing; because the dissensions of her children turned their arms against one another.

The Pale was not less distracted by divisions than the nation. The great English lords, exercising royal authority, like Irish princes, were mortal enemies one to another. O'Nial and O'Donell were not more at variance than Fitzgerald and Butler. Kildare, in the plenitude of his power, when he might be considered immoveable, experienced the ill effects of cabals. A powerful one was secretly formed, to prepare

and present articles of impeachment against him to the king. These were, his Irish alliances; exaction of coyne and livery; Irish nursing, gossipred, and other transgressions of barbarous statutes, made by a boorish, a misanthropic race. These, with many other charges, either unfounded, or not peculiar to the earl, made so unfavourable an impression on that haughty, capricious, and lustful tyrant, that he sent orders to the deputy to repair to England, to answer these charges. He tried by every art to elude this peremptory order. In vain he sent his wife as his proxy; hoping, perhaps, a better fate from female eloquence or beauty, with a lascivious monarch. Henry continued inflexible, and Kildare was obliged to obey; but, before his departure, he committed two faults. The first was, to arm and garrison his castles. The second was, to commit the government to his son, lord Thomas, a youth scarce twenty-one. During the father's confinement in the tower, a report was industriously spread abroad, that he was executed. The Butlers, enemies of his house, received the news with exultation, and communicated it in letters, some of which fell into the young deputy's hands. At a period when no regular intercourse was established, it required time to procure correct information. The young deputy was credulous enough to believe the report without further investigation, and plunged into rebellion with boyish precipitancy. He scorned to act with the refined policy of a prince Maurice; who, under pretence of zeal for the service of Charles V. fought

under his banners, only to come upon him off his guard. Fitz-Gerald, full of chivalrous honor, openly avowed his design of fighting against the king, in revenge for his father's death. He marched into Dublin at the head of a troop of horse, entered the council-chamber, where he delivered the sword of state; accompanying his surrender of the government with a declaration of war against king Henry. After collecting his forces, both of English and Irish descent, he ravaged the Pale, and proposed to the citizens of Dublin to give him a free passage through the city, to attack the castle, otherwise he would destroy it with fire and sword. The passage was granted; he left a party of his forces to carry on the siege, and marched with his main body to punish the earl of Ormond, for refusing to join him in the insurrection. The earl of Ormond's son came to meet him with his forces, but lost the battle and his life. Thereupon he ravaged the estates of the Butlers, and levied contributions, when he was called back by intelligence from Dublin, that his besieging party was cooped up, between the armed citizens and the garrison of the castle; and that except a few, who profited of the first tumult, by swimming across the river, they were all either slain or taken prisoners. Fitz-Gerald summoned the city to deliver up his men; and, on their refusal, formed the siege thereof, with a force not well qualified for such enterprises. After many unsuccessful assaults, he was obliged to retreat, but obtained the liberation of his soldiers by seizing the children of the citizens,

who had been removed from the city during a plague. While inspecting his castle of Maynooth, he received intelligence of an English army being in the bay. He marched immediately to annoy them on their landing; met a party of them already landed, engaged and slew all who did not surrender as prisoners. Then he planted his artillery on the shore, and forced the ships to put back to sea, while one of his partizans took a schooner loaded with horses and troops. The troops, however, landed on the opposite shore, and thence entered the city. Hereupon Fitz-Gerald marched westwards, to obtain succour, while his castle of Maynooth was besieged by Skeffington, with his English forces. There was no impression made on the castle during fourteen days; nor had the garrison the least doubt of holding out until they were relieved, when treachery defeated their hopes. It was betrayed by one Parese, foster-brother to lord Thomas, who, on receiving his wages, was hanged by Skeffington. Meanwhile Fitz-Gerald exerted himself with great vigour, in the hope of raising the siege of Maynooth. He applied to the chieftains of Connaught and Ulster, and raised an army of seven thousand men, with which he marched to the relief of his castle; but, on seeing the fall of Maynooth, most of them, giving up his cause as desperate, returned home. Nevertheless, with the remainder, he ventured to meet the deputy in the field, but his auxiliaries, unacquainted with cannon, shrunk from the discharges of the artillery, terrified more, 'tis probable, by the noise than

the execution. Unknown objects, striking forcibly the senses, are apt to inspire the bravest men with some degree of apprehension. 'Thus it was, that the Romans were defeated by means of Pyrrhus's elephants, who, on acquaintance, despised these unwieldy masses. Fitz-Gerald, however, finding himself no longer able to keep the field in Leinster, retreated to Munster, in expectation most likely of succour or protection, from his kinsman Desmond. Thither he was followed by Leonard Grey, his kinsman. After some indecisive skirmishes, the unfortunate lord Thomas, finding Desmond, through the intrigues of Harry, indisposed to succour him, was induced to dismiss his troops and surrender himself on assurance of pardon. However this may be, he certainly received such assurances of favour, and at least of a powerful recommendation to the king, that he consented to dismiss his troops, and to attend lord Grey to Dublin. Lord Thomas was sent to England, confident of his promised pardon being ratified. Unhappy youth! he little knew the tyrant, on whose clemency he relied. As he was on his way to Windsor, prepared to cast himself at the king's feet, he was arrested, and committed to the tower, where he was suffered to languish for a while in despair, that, to use the words of Nero, he might feel himself dying. Harry's vengeance extended to the whole family. He gave orders to the new deputy, Grey, to seize on his five uncles, though three of them were known to have opposed the rebellion. His order was obeyed. The deluded men accepted Grey's invitation to a

banquet. They were first feasted with all the appearance of amity, then made prisoners, sent to England, confined in the tower, and put to death.

The marvellous escape of the younger branch of the Geraldines, a boy of twelve years of age, from the vengeance of this monster of lust and cruelty, deserves to be recorded, as an instance of divine interposition in favour of individuals and families, as well as of nations and empires. "This infant, by the vigilance of his guardians, was secreted and conveyed to his aunt, the widow of Mac-Arthy, Irish dynast of South Munster. This lady, solicitous to preserve the remaining hope of her noble family, consented to a second marriage with another Irish chieftain, called O'Donel, on the express condition that he should protect her nephew: but soon convinced of the insincerity of her new husband, who sought to recommend himself to the English government, by delivering up this youth, she conveyed him into France, where the king entertained him; and when Henry had the meanness to demand him as a rebel-subject, favoured his escape to Flanders. The like demand was made to the emperor, when this young lord had escaped to his court, but with like success. He was permitted to seek the protection of cardinal Pole, who, in defiance of his declared enemy, king Henry, received lord Gerald as his kinsman, educated him suitably to his birth, and by his favour and support, preserved him to regain the honours of the family of Kildare."*

* Leland, Vol. II. Book III. c. vi. p. 154.

We have passed a period of atrocious and incessant warfare; darkened by the barbarous misanthropy of the invaders, and the implacable enmities of the invaded; disgraced by the cold-blooded cruelty and inhuman perfidy of the pretended civilizers of Ireland. We have seen, that the English popish penal code left nothing to the ingenuity of human malice to invent, or demoniac malignity to inflict, on the persons, families, and properties of the antient natives; that nothing was omitted that could ulcerate the human heart, engender incurable antipathy, and eternize hostility. Were the same diligence and abilities employed, to collect and divulge the penal statutes of the popish code, as those which favoured the public with a digest of the protestant penal laws, I believe the former would be found far more ingenious in devices of inhumanity, for temporal gain, than the latter in tormenting men, for the honor and glory of God, and the salvation of their souls. It would seem that Englishmen became no worse men by their embracing the reformed religion, since the stimulant of religious bigotry, invigorating the appetite of temporal gain, has not enabled them to reach the climax of savage and perfidious atrocity, practised by their popish ancestors on a nation of the catholic profession. The protestant penal code entitled any protestant to seize the horse of a catholic worth five pounds; but it was on condition of giving five pounds to the owner, the value, when the act was passed, of a good horse. The popish penal code allowed

any English papist to take the life of an Irish catholic vassal of the Pale, on paying six pence fine. The murder of an Irish catholic out of the pale was praise-worthy; if of high rank, applauded. The reader need not be asked, whether he would rather part with his horse, even by compulsion, on receiving cash for him, than lose his life, with impunity or reward to assassins.

Let us not imagine, that nothing but war, cruelty, and perfidy existed in those distracted times. While history records the miseries, inflicted by mankind on each other, by their vices and follies, numerous examples of social virtues, and domestic felicity, are generally passed by, which incline us to congratulate that nation and epoch which afford least matter for the historian. The Irish annalists equally intersperse their concise narratives, with an account of characters, illustrious for their learning, piety and humanity; of this sort was Phelim O'Reilly, celebrated for his liberality to poets and travellers, who kept an open house for the reception of passengers.

A new æra now opens upon us. The king, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, sacrifices his religion to his lust, severs his kingdom from the unity of the catholic church, and the jurisdiction of its chief pastor, and thus opens the flood-gates of error, letting in an inundation of heresies of all sorts. In addition to the calamities, with which Ireland was already afflicted, this super-added another "pestilent bane," as lord Clare calls it. I wonder did he ever learn the catechism from his grandfather, the priest.

English historians, as well as their Irish partizans, give such accounts of this reformation, began by Henry VIII. as favour their own party; and, for want of knowing the real, attributed to imaginary causes, its tardy and small progress in Ireland. That arbitrary tyrant never meant any alteration in the creed or ritual he had learned, but solely thirsted for money and pleasure. To indulge his capricious lusts, he created the schism; to acquire money, and also to deprive the Pope of partizans, he suppressed monasteries, and seized their estates and moveables. He had too much need of partizans, to lock up his vast plunder of ecclesiastical property in his own coffers. He prudently distributed a great portion of it among men of rank, lead and talent, whom he thus interested to espouse his innovations: adding withal, such titles of honor and distinction, as generally captivate human vanity. With these means, and the exercise of unlimited power, the authority of an obsequious parliament, the concurrence of a corrupt prelacy, and the general timidity and procrastinating policy of English catholics, the schism was completed in England. In Ireland it met with greater opposition.

Leland is futile and tedious, beyond suffering, in accounting for the resistance of the Irish to heresy and schism. Blindness and bigotry; a dissolute course of life; odious and absurd distinction of inhabitants; ignorant clergy and superstitious laity. On these topics he dwells, with a tedious, unmeaning prolixity, proving him ignorant of the true causes. If the ignorance of the

clergy and laity accounts for the resistance of the Irish to innovation, why not dissolve protestant colleges, that clergy and laity, through ignorance, may acquire a blind attachment to the established church, and an abhorrence of the oppressors. An odious distinction between the inhabitants continues yet; why does it not protect the flocks of the established church from being thinned by Methodists? There are numbers of blind and bigotted men of the establishment daily seduced into conventicles. The real causes were these. The abuses that were complained of over Europe, existed indeed, but were not felt with the same weight. The wealth of the Irish clergy was collectively great; but not so great as the reunion of sees has made it, reducing fifty to twenty-five. They exercised hospitality, the fashionable virtue of their country, without which they would incur general contempt; and, in some of the petty wars of the tribes, be plundered unmercifully, perhaps grossly insulted in their persons. The original intention of the donors of church lands, for the support of the poor, and instruction of the ignorant, was fulfilled here better than any where else. Each prelate had a number of widows and orphans on his pension list, and the wandering poor received relief from his kitchen. The abbey were generally seats of literature and hospitality. The study of medicine was one of the branches of their learning; for the relief of the sick poor in their vicinity, and for poor applicants of any nation or country. For this purpose they kept their *Materia Medica* in a botanic garden contiguous to them;

as Mr. White, of the Glasnevin Botanic Garden has proved, from the samples of exotic plants growing wildly about their venerable ruins. Add to all these titles of respectability, the chastity that distinguished the Irish clergy above those of any other country, attested by foreign writers, and then you will see cause, why the clerical character was held in such high estimation in this country, and why Henry's attempt upon them, and upon the unity of the church, provoked universal opposition, even in the Pale. In my travels through Europe the same opinion still prevailed, of the chastity of the Irish clergy. It was an adage among the clergy of the continent; and they had every opportunity of observation, as the whole of the Irish clergy, secular and regular, were educated among and spent their lives there. *Hibernus (clerus) bibax sicut anser, et castus sicut angelus.** This restraint of a natural passion, whose vehemence in the Irish is attested by the antient proverb, *Libidinosi Scoti*; could only be atchieved by religious zeal, a high sense of honor, and reverence for their character and functions. Besides, the Irish were then, what they now are, a religious people, tenacious of antiquity, and enemies to innovation. Their abhorrence of Henry's plundering and schismatical schemes, is not imputable to ignorance, or blind attachment, but to the assiduous care of the clergy in catechising them, and to the subtlety of their minds, naturally penetrating, which easily

* The Irish (clergy) tipple like geese, i. e. sipped often, but not to excess, at their meals, and are chaste as angels.

discerned the marks of the true church of Christ, unity, (not to speak of sanctity,) apostolicity, and universality. They clearly perceived, that Henry was militating against all these; and that the church of England, torn from the main body of the faithful, would, like a branch torn from a tree, wither, and produce insects; so would a schismatical limb, severed from the communion of the faithful, decay in the faith, and be overrun with innumerable heresies. They saw, that the pretended reform, by substituting reason for authority, sapped the foundation of revealed religion. Fortified by these unquestionable facts, the reader may safely peruse the account of this most tyrannical attempt, of forcing a new religion on the Irish nation, as given by Leland, and admitted by Plowden, with few exceptions. These gentlemen cannot be supposed unreasonably partial to Irishmen, and catholics; the one, on account of his country, being an Englishman; the other, on account of his religion, being a protestant divine.

“ Lord Cromwell, who upon the death of Wolsey had succeeded to as much of his prince’s favors, as Henry would again bestow upon a subject, in his quality of vicar general in spirituals, appointed George Brown, the provincial of the Augustine Friars, who had been prominently conspicuous in preaching up the reformation in London, to succeed Allan in the archiepiscopal see of Dublin. He was sent over with other commissioners, specially instructed and appointed to confer with the clergy and nobility,

in order to procure a general acknowledgement of the king's spiritual supremacy. . . . No sooner had the commissioners appointed by the king explained their instructions, and demanded an acknowledgment of his supremacy, than Cromer, primate of Armagh, an Englishman, by birth, and who had sometimes held the office of chancellor, openly and boldly declared against an attempt so impious. . . . He summoned the suffragans and clergy of his province: and to those whom he could collect, he pathetically represented the danger, which now threatened the religion of their ancestors: exhorting them to adhere inviolably to the apostolic chair, by such arguments and motives as were suited to their understandings. He reminded them, that their country had been called in the earliest ages the Holy Island; a convincing proof that it ever was and is the peculiar property of the holy see, from which the kings of England derive their lordship. He enjoined them by his spiritual authority to resist all innovation, as they tendered their everlasting felicity: and pronounced a tremendous curse against all those, who should sacrilegiously acknowledge the king's supremacy. In the mean time he dispatched two emissaries to Rome, to represent the danger of the church, and to entreat the interposition of the pontiff in defence of his rights and interests in Ireland.

“ This spirited opposition of the most eminent amongst the Irish prelates, enlivened the zeal and vigor of the friends of Rome. Henry and his minister seem to have imagined, that no one

could have presumed to attempt the least resistance to his royal will, in a point which had been already solemnly decided and established in England. His agents were probably possessed with the same idea. But to their utter mortification, the king's commission was treated with indifference and neglect; and his vicar, on account of the meanness of his birth, became even a subject of popular ridicule.* Archbishop Browne, with the assistance of some of his suffragans, laboured in support of the commission: but he was treated not only with disdain but outrage, and his life was exposed to danger from the opponents of the reformation. Such at least were the apprehensions he expressed. He informed Lord Cromwell of his bad success, and the opposition of Cromer: represented the melancholy situation of ecclesiastical affairs in Ireland; the extreme ignorance of the clergy, incapable of performing even the common offices, and utter strangers even to the language, in which they celebrated their mass;† and the furious zeal of the people, whose blind attachment to Rome was as determined, as the constancy of the most enlightened martyrs to the

* Archbishop Browne in one of his letters to Lord Cromwell, tells him with an awkward and uncourtly simplicity, the “countrie folk here much hate your lordship, and despitefully call you in their Irish tongue, ‘The blacksmith’s son.’”

† That might have been the state of the clergy within the Pale, as they had as yet no seminary of learning in the English district; they were excluded from English schools, and they were not allowed, by their own bigotry, to frequent the seminaries of the antient Irish.

true religion,* who exulted in expectation of effectual support from the pope, and that he would engage some of the old chieftains and particularly O’Nial, the great dynast of the north, to rise in defence of their religion. He recommended as the most vigorous and effectual method of procedure, that an Irish parliament should be assembled without delay, which, like the English legislature, might by law enforce a general acknowledgment of the king’s supremacy, so as to terrify the refractory and to silence their opposition. This advice was approved: and the Lord Gray, who was still engaged in suppressing the disjointed relicts of the Geraldine rebellion, received a commission to summon a parliament, which was accordingly convened at Dublin on the first of May 1536.†

“ So limited at this time was the jurisdiction of the Irish parliament, or to speak more properly, of the provincial assembly of the Pale, that the master of the rolls reported to the king, that his laws were not obeyed twenty miles from his capi-

* What true religion? Was it the schism produced by Harry’s lust? Was it by removing the foundation of revealed religion, and submitting mysterious, incomprehensible doctrines to be scanned by ignorant and delirious imagination? Was it to open the door to endless varieties and contradictions, to numberless heresies, daily sprouting up like mushrooms, to whose growth, on the principles of the separatists, no mortal can set limits.

† Lord Grey was infringing the treaty of peace and pardon, concluded with lord Thomas Fitz-Gerald, murdering and plundering wherever he could, these unconcerned as well as those concerned,

tal. Yet did Henry successfully exert every device of art and power to render the members that composed it ductile and subservient to his dictates. The transactions of the late parliament at Westminster were holden out to the members convened, as a model of the ordinances the king expected at their hands. Therefore, as to all the acts which concern the reformation of religion, the Irish statutes are mere transcripts of the English acts upon the same subjects. The king was declared supreme head on earth of the Church of Ireland: all appeals to Rome in spiritual causes were taken away: the English law against slandering the king in consequence of these innovations was enacted and confirmed in Ireland, together with the provisions made in England for payment of first fruits to the king: and not only of the first fruits of bishopricks and other secular promotions in the Church of Ireland; but by another act he was vested with those of abbies, priories, colleges, and hospitals. By a further act the authority of the bishop of Rome was more solemnly renounced, and the maintainers of it in Ireland made subject to a *præmunire*. All officers of every kind and degree were required to take the oath of supremacy; and every person who should refuse it was declared, as in England, guilty of high treason. All payment of pensions and suing for dispensations and faculties to Rome were utterly prohibited, by adopting the English law made for this purpose, and accommodating it to Ireland. By one act twelve religious houses were suppressed: by another

the priory of St. Wolstan's was particularly suppressed ; and the demesnes of them all were vested in the crown.

“ As to the right of inheritance and succession of the lordship of Ireland, they pronounced the marriage of the king with Catharine of Arragon to be null and void, and the sentence of separation by the archbishop of Canterbury to be good and effectual. They declared the inheritance of the crown to be in the king and his heirs by Queen Ann (of Boleyn) : they made it high treason to oppose this succession, misprision of treason to slander it ; and appointed an oath of allegiance to be taken by the subjects of Ireland for the sure establishment of it under the penalties of misprision of treason. But scarcely had this act been passed, when intelligence arrived of the condemnation and death of Ann Boleyn, and the marriage of the king with the Lady Jane Seymour. With the same ease and compliance with Henry's wishes, they followed the servile corruption of the English parliament, and instantly repealed their late act, and passed an act of attainder on the late Queen Ann, George Boleyn, Lord Rochford, William Brereton, and Mark Smeaton, who had been accused as accomplices in the supposed guilt of that unhappy lady. Both the former marriages of Henry were by this new act declared null and void : the succession was new modelled, and declared to be in the king and his heirs by the Lady Jane, his then queen ; and, in default of such heirs, the king was empowered to dispose of the inheritance

of the lordship of Ireland (as of the crown of England) by letters patent, or by will.

“ Other acts were made for the encrease of the king’s revenue, and the internal regulation of the Pale. The usual subsidy of 13s. 4d. on every plough land was granted for ten years. The lands and honors of the Duke of Norfolk and other absentees* were vested in the king, and one twentieth part of every spiritual promotion was granted to him for ever. All pensions paid by the king’s subjects to any Irish sept were utterly abolished; the antient laws against marrying and fostering with the Irish were revived in all their severity; and the use of the English order of living, habit, and language, were strictly enforced throughout the Pale. It was provided, that no ecclesiastical preferment should be conferred on any, who did not speak the English language, unless after three solemn proclamations none so qualified could be found; that an English school should be kept in every parish; and that such as could not pay for the education of their children at such school, should be obliged to employ them from the age of ten years in trade or husbandry. To prevent waste of lands, either by the suppression of monasteries or attainder of rebels, commissioners were appointed to grant leases of all crown lands; and others for pardoning any persons concerned in the late rebellion, who should submit within a given time,

* Time probably will determine whether the union, encreasing absentees, was wiser for security, than those severities against absentees.

except such as had been attainted by name. These were named in the very first act of this parliament, intituled, An act for the attainder of the earl of Kildare and others.

“ Such were the laws which this corrupt and servile parliament passed to gratify the resentment, lust, avarice, and ambition of Henry. Ingenuity could not have devised a collection of laws more emphatically calculated to render the English power contemptible and odious to the Irish nation. This policy of the English, to discourage all connexion of the colony with the native Irish, it has been lately observed,* was not “ to be reconciled to any principle of sound policy : it was a declaration of perpetual war, not only against the native Irish, but against every person of English blood, who had settled beyond the limits of the Pale, and from motives of personal interest or convenience had formed connections with the natives, or adopted their laws and customs; and it had the full effect, which might have been expected: it drew closer the confederacy it was meant to dissolve, and implicated the colony of the Pale in ceaseless warfare and contention with each other, and with the inhabitants of the adjacent districts.”

“ As the religion professed by those within and those without the Pale was at this time one and the same in every respect, an observation of the same illustrious personage, to whose authority I have just referred, applies indiscriminately to

* Speech of the earl of Clare in the Irish House of Lords, on the 10th of February, 1805.

both; “ it was equally hopeless and impolitic to call upon the people at once to abjure the religion of their ancestors, and to subscribe to new doctrines. Accordingly, says Dr. Leland, the laws for the regulation of the Pale, and even those which declare the right of succession to the throne, were received without opposition. But those relative to ecclesiastical jurisdiction had all the violence of religious enthusiasm to encounter. The Romish party had collected their adherents, and were prepared for a vigorous contention. The two proctors from each diocese, who had usually been summoned to parliament, composed a formidable body of ecclesiastics, avowed adherents to the holy see. They claimed to be members of the legislative body, and to have a full right of suffrage in every public question; it therefore became necessary, before the act of supremacy should be proposed, to define their rights. It was declared by a previous act, that their claim was presumptuous and groundless; that they were summoned merely as counsellors and assistants, (as the King’s judges and other learned men had decided) and that from the first day of that parliament they should be accepted and taken as counsellors and assistants only, whose assent and concurrence were by no means necessary to any parliamentary transaction.

“ Although the partizans of Rome were thus deprived of the assistance of so powerful a body, yet when the act of supremacy came to be proposed, Lords and Commons joined in expressing

their abhorrence of the spiritual authority assumed by the King, whilst the ministers of the royal party were equally determined in defence of it. Archbishop Browne took the first part in supporting the propriety of this act, by such arguments as probably had their weight upon his own mind, and were more likely to influence his hearers, than those of greater force and solidity. He pleaded the authority of the Popes themselves against the usurpation of Rome; so that in asserting the king's supremacy, he claimed no more than what Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, had granted to Lucius, the first Christian King of the Britons: but the argument he concluded with, was most likely to confound opposition; he pronounced those, who made any difficulty of concurring with him, to have no right to be regarded or treated as loyal subjects. Fear served to allay the violence of such as could not be persuaded; and the most determined partizans of Rome were obliged to reserve themselves for a clandestine opposition to the execution of a law, which they could not prevent from being enacted.

“ At this period of the Irish history, the whole Irish nation, within and without the Pale, was Catholic. Archbishop Browne and the other commissioners, together with the ministers and royal party, whom they had gained over to the reformation, were the only Protestants in the country. The hand of power was therefore called in to compel submission to these acts thus forced upon the nation. The royal party, who

had possessed themselves of the reins of power within the Pale, aware of the consequences of their abusing it, ere the session was over, passed a special act, to make it felony to attempt to invalidate any of the laws passed during this session of the parliament. And no wonder, as Leland observes, that to these vigorous counsels and decisions of the legislature, it was at this time peculiarly necessary to add an extraordinary vigilance and activity in the field. It was obvious to foresee, that religious controversy must aggravate and protract the disorders so long and so grievously experienced in this country. Rightly then was it said, “ At this time a new schism arose, which has been the bane and pestilence of Ireland.”* The question of papal authority threatened to divide those, who had hitherto been most united; and whilst the king’s subjects within the Pale, who disapproved the late regulations, were thus in danger of being seduced from their allegiance, at the same time a new bond of union was formed amongst the old Irish chieftains. Formerly to their petty septs (called nations) their views had ever principally been confined: then their temporal interests were separate, and their mutual enmities frequent, fierce, and rancorous. But now the defence of their antient religion was inculcated as the cause of all, and afforded a new pretence for insurrection; a pretence which operated so powerfully upon the Irish, that it seemed almost

* Lord Clare’s speech.

for the time to have absorbed the other numerous and heavy grievances, which Henry had accumulated upon their nation.”*

Hitherto the Irish suffered in their goods and persons, now they were attacked in the sanctuary of conscience; no wonder a high-spirited and religious people should resist. The failure of their just and necessary resistance requires explanation. They had improvidently abandoned their sea-port towns, and foreign commerce, first to the Danes, and afterwards to the English, for a yearly tribute. These were fortified, and rendered, since the introduction of fire-arms, not only impregnable, but inaccessible, to a people destitute of these new war machines. The Milesians, thus cooped up in their own country, from foreign intercourse, by which they might obtain arms and ammunition, excluded from towns, where they were manufactured, were further precluded, by the non-intercourse act of Edward IV., of which the following is an extract, from any communication with foreigners. “Item at the request of the commons, that where divers vessels of other lands from one day to other going to fish amongst the king’s Irish enemies in divers parts of this said land, by which the king’s said enemies be greatly advanced and strengthened as wel in victuals, harness, armour, as divers other necessaries also great tributes of money given by every of the said vessels to the said enemies from day to day to the great augmentation of their power and force against

* Plowden. Hist. Rev. State of Ireland. Vol. I. p. 238.

the king's honour and wealth, and utter destruction of this said land, whereupon the premises considered, it is enacted and ordeyned by authoritie of the said parliament, that no manor vessell of other lands shall be no time nor season of the year from henceforth, from the feast of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ next coming, go in no part of the said land betwixt the said Irish enemies to no maner fishing without one speciall licence of the lieutenant, his deputy or justice of the land for the time being, or licence of another person having the king's power to graunt such licence, upon pain of forfeiture of the ship and goods to the king."

Archbishop Browne, an apostate provincial of the English Augustinians, met with vigorous opposition in the seat of government. Out of the Pale he could effect no change, as he owns himself. "The viceroy is of little or no power with the old natives, therefore your lordship will expect from me no more than I am able."* O'Nial, O'Brien, and several other chieftains of less note appeared in arms, either on pretext or in defence of religion, but were foiled by the inequality of arms, and obliged to make peace with Henry. The tyrant learned by experience that the Irish were more easily gained by favors, titles and bribes, than subdued by force. Accordingly he passed an act, declaratory of his design to confer titles, honors, and bestow estates suitable thereto, on loyal and meritorious men; thus to procure

* Letter to Lord Cromwell, vicar in spirituals to Henry

their acquiescence in the suppression of monasteries. "Where our sovereign lord the king's most excellent majesty, for the relief and fortification of this his Highness's realm of Ireland, having respect to the great lack of nobility or men for honour now within the same, of his most kingly benevolence hath created, erected, and enabled and hereafter intendeth to create, name, erect and enable divers persons unto names of honour and dignities within this his said realm, enduing them with divers possessions and hereditaments, and to others freely have also disposed and hereafter intendeth to dispose others his Graces possessions, lands, tenements, and hereditaments within the same realm," &c.*

Pursuant to this policy, Uliac de Burgo was created earl of Clanrickard and baron of Dunkellan; Morough O'Brien, earl of Thomond and baron of Inchiquin, and his son Connor, baron of Ibraken. O'Nial accepted the title of earl of Tyrone; and his son was created baron of Dungannon. Several other dynasts were courted in the same manner, and promised shares of ecclesiastical plunder. The innovations, by these means of seduction, gained some partizans among the great, but with the multitude they found no favor. While the king of England was cajoling Irish chieftains with titles; and what they valued more, a partition of the lands of suppressed abbeys, he assumed to himself the title of king of Ireland. To make his reformation

* An act for land given by the King.—13 HEN. VIII.

less disgusting to the Irish, some excellent statutes were passed in the parliament of the English district. It was enacted, that voters for members of parliament should be possessed in freehold of forty shillings a year, more than forty pound a year at present; and that those who were elected for counties, cities and towns, should be residents of the places for which they were elected. Afterwards was passed an act for the suppression of Kilmainham, and other religious houses, upon the *free* surrender and grants of the superior. Peccages and bribes were dispensed with a prodigal hand, to all men of weight, whose opposition to the king's violent schemes might be apprehended. Meath was divided into two counties; for a reason, stated in the following preamble of the act, which proves the small extent of the Pale at that time. "Forasmuch as the shire of Meth is great and large in circuit, and the west part thereof laid about and beset with diverse of the king's rebels, and that in severall parts thereof the king's writs for lacke of ministration of justice, have not of late been obeyed, nor his Grace's laws put in due execution." It was also enacted, that on the death, resignation, or recal of a deputy, the privy council should elect a man of English birth to succeed him, during the king's pleasure; or in default of such, to elect two of English blood and surname as lords justices.

Notwithstanding all the efforts of Harry's policy and power, wherever the Milesian power prevailed, religious houses were protected. Da-

vies remarks, “that the abbeys and other religious houses in Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and Fermanagh, though they were dissolved in the thirty-third year of Henry VIII. were never surveyed, nor reduced into charge, but were continually possessed by the religious persons, untill the reign of James I.”

Francis I. of France, informed of the general disposition that prevailed in Ireland, to resist the English schism and innovations, attempted to be forced on them, sent some emissaries to Ireland, to tamper with O’Donnel of Tyrconnel, a chieftain well known in Rome and France, and of great authority. But he, either unwilling to break his late engagements, or despairing of being able to form any general confederacy, declined the task. On the other hand, Henry was accompanied to Calais with a considerable body of Irish troops, who astonished the French by their agility and their ferocity in battle. There is a stratagem for procuring provisions, attributed to that brigade, which I have met no where else. “They caught a bull, tied him to a stake, kindled fires around him, so that the scorching flames caused the animal to bellow piteously. All the horned cattle crowded to the spot, where they became a booty.”*

In closing this reign, it will not appear improper to sketch the character of this daring eccentric man, who commenced the great changes in church and state, whose agitations have not as

* Plowden. Hist. Rev. State of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 65.

yet subsided. In person handsome and of good stature, he neither wanted penetration or learning. Bred up a catholic, and taught scholastic theology, he was in the beginning of his reign a zealous stickler for its tenets. Shocked at the heretical doctrines of Luther and his associates, he was the only christian prince who drew the pen against them, in his *Defence of the Seven Sacraments*. Happily for them, that violent prince could not draw the sword against them. He was liberal to men of science, and encreased the salaries of professors. In his promotions to bishop's sees, he always had regard to learning and merit, except the instance of Cranmer, whom he promoted for the purpose of his divorce; so that the bishops appointed by him, endured imprisonment, chains, exile and torture, for the confession of the catholic faith, during the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth. He never departed from the catholic faith, but for the gratification of luxury and lust. He always held the sacrament of the eucharist in the highest veneration, which he manifested a little before his death. Quitting his chair and kneeling to receive, some of his courtiers observed, that his majesty, infirm as he was, might receive sitting. "If, instead of kneeling, I could throw myself under the ground. I could not pay sufficient honor to the most holy sacrament," replies he. His natural good sense and christian education, were overpowered by four violent passions, excessive pride, lust, avarice and cruelty. Before his rupture with Catharine, her piety and exem-

plary virtues commanded his esteem, and bridled the impetuosity of his character. After his divorce and schism, he gave loose reins to the violence of his passions, making dreadful havoc of the nobility, citizens and clergy. In the public records are numbered three or four queens, two heroines, two cardinals, and a third condemned absent. Dukes, marquises, earls and the sons of earls, twelve; of the Geraldines, six; barons and knights, eighteen; abbots and priors, thirteen; monks, priests and religious, seventy-seven; and others almost innumerable, both gentle and simple. This visitation, brought by a lustful tyrant on popish England, and the still greater calamities for which he paved the way, might move one, not acquainted with the conduct of popish England towards catholic Ireland. They only received back their own measure, and as yet only part payment. For, untaught by all they suffered, during this reign and the succeeding one of Edward VI., no sooner did they recover their spirits under queen Mary, than they practised on Irish catholics such infernal perfidy and cruelty as exceeded all their former crimes, as shall be seen in its proper place.

Since his schism and divorce, Henry had not a moment's peace of mind or tranquillity. The wives he chose proved to be strumpets, or at least as such he beheaded them, except the last, who only escaped by surviving him. The heresies he detested, crept in through the breach he made in despite of him, though he burnt some heretics in terrorem. The reconciliation with the catholic

church, which he seemed once before his death to have seriously wished, was impeded by the terror he inspired; for none of the bishops, called together for that purpose, durst disclose his thoughts freely, lest the proposals were meant to ensnare. He died unregretted; nor was his memory honored with a sepulchre by any of his three children, who reigned successively after him. His will was broke; for he strictly enjoined his son Edward to be reared a catholic, and he was reared a protestant; and the catholic tutors and commissioners, appointed to superintend his education, and assist in the administration of the kingdom, were turned out. His three children died without issue, and the seed of the wicked perished, but not before they bathed this unfortunate island in the blood of its best inhabitants.

During the reign of Edward VI., the administration, conducted by his uncle, the duke of Somerset, under the name of Protector, was chiefly busied in making those alterations in religion, called Reformation. Their endeavours succeeded to their satisfaction in England, but in Ireland they still met unabating opposition. This they experienced in every shape. The saved branch of Kildare had not as yet attained man's estate; but St. Leger, the deputy, was strenuously opposed by Ormond, in a scheme of taxation, which was protested against as illegal and oppressive. In the violence of contest, they came to mutual impeachments, which ended with the death of Ormond, who was poisoned at a feast in Ely-house, with sixteen of his retinue.

Nobody did it, to be sure; but the undegenerate Englishman was extremely glad of the sudden departure of his powerful opponent.

The change meditated in religion, determined the English government to send over a reinforcement of 600 horse and 400 foot, under the command of general Bellingham. Joining his forces with those of the Pale, he marched against O'Moore, and O'Connor, over whose undisciplined force, fire arms, as yet terrific even by their noise to the Irish, gave him a decided superiority. He routed them in the field, drove out the old inhabitants from Leix and O'Faly, and planted castles thereon in defence of his conquest. Reduced to the situation of desperate fugitives, the two chieftains, forsook by most of their followers, were prevailed on to come to an accommodation, and rely on the generosity and good faith of Englishmen. Accepting the proffer, they accompanied St. Leger, into England, where the only favor they received was, not to be brought to immediate execution. They were imprisoned, their lands were declared forfeit, and given to those by whose counsel they had surrendered. O'Moore soon after died in captivity. An ineffectual attempt of O'Connor to escape, only served to make his confinement more rigorous, and their lands were divided among English adventurers. Their kinsmen and followers, most likely to revive their claims, were persuaded to enlist in the king's English army, to relieve their immediate necessities. Thus were two strong feathers plucked

out of the Milesian pinions, without the interference of their neighbours, who could never adopt the wise policy of the Pale, "one peace, and one war, with the common enemy." In honor of this first and considerable addition to the Pale during centuries, Bellingham received the honor of knighthood, and was appointed governor of the enlarged district. Some attempt at insurrection, occasioned, perhaps, by the dread of changes in religion, were suppressed in their birth by his vigilance.

The efforts of the English council, to force a new religion on the Irish, kept this unhappy country in constant agitation. At a conference held for this purpose in the hall of Mary's-abbey, Dowdal defended the Roman liturgy, and Staples of Meath, the new-fangled English translation; as usual in such cases, each party claimed the victory. A proclamation not having the force of law in either countries, government avenged the opposition of Dowdal, by deciding the long contest for precedence between the sees of Dublin and Armagh in favor of the former, whose intruded bishop, Browne, was an apostle of the new doctrines. The primate, probably taking this first aggression as a prognostic of more serious severities, and not being animated with the spirit of martyrdom, retired to the continent. Had he stood his ground, the tide of popularity ran so violently in his favor, both within and without the Pale, his opposition would in all probability have compelled the protector to abandon his scheme of reforming Ireland. The

cause was abandoned, at a critical moment, by a man, whose station, abilities, and first essay, commanded the enthusiastic devotion of the nation, and the innovators in power were left leisure and opportunity to improve by the absence of the leader of a catholic nation against schism and heresy. Immediately a successor was appointed to him, contrary to canon law; and John Bale, "the violent and acrimonious impugner of popery," (Lel.) was appointed to the see of Ossory. All the clergy, not excepting Goodacre, the intruded bishop of Armagh, wished, in complaisance to popular prepossessions, to have Bale consecrated according to the Roman ritual. The furious innovator rejected, with fanatical scorn, these venerable formalities. The evidence of a protestant divine, on the intemperate conduct of this fanatic, though not detailed or explicit, hints a good deal. "Bale insulted the prejudices of his flock without reserve or caution. They were provoked; and not so restrained, or awed by the civil power, as to dissemble their resentments. During the short period of his residence in Ireland, he lived in a continual state of fear and persecution. On his first preaching of the reformed doctrines, his clergy forsook him, or opposed him; and to such violence were the populace spirited against him, that five of his domestics were slain before his face; and his own life saved only by the interposition of the civil magistrate. These outrages are pathetically related; but we are not informed what imprudences provoked them, or what was the intemperate conduct which his ad-

versaries retorted with such shocking barbarity.”*

The ministry of the colony, sensible of the unpopularity of religious innovations in Ireland, saw the necessity of holding out some boon to conciliate the nation. They frequently and strongly urged the expediency and necessity of extending the English law and constitution, to the old natives, as an inducement to coalesce into one people, attached to one monarch and one political system, but without effect. It is not clear, that the antient Irish would exchange their own laws and usages, under which their country obtained renown, for those of the Saxons. True, indeed Milesians petitioned for English laws; but they were those of Leinster, whose properties were intersected by, or contiguous to the Pale. No instance can be found of the powerful chieftains petitioning for such a favor.

The clashing of English and Irish law, produced much confusion and bloodshed among the Milesians and settlers. On the death of the earl of Clanrickard, his followers elected a chieftain, according to Irish usage; and the young lord asserted his claim, grounded on English law, with the sword. On the demise of the earl of Thomond, the baron of Ibraken, heir, according to English law, was compelled by his tribe to declare a Tainist according to the Irish constitution, who, though compelled for the present to relinquish that station by the interposition of the English government, waited but a favourable opportunity

* Leland, Vol. II. B. III. c. viii. p. 201.

to recover it, by a sanguinary and successful war. But the principal commotions, occasioned by this unnatural collision of opposite constitutions and conflicting laws, were in the family of O’Nial. By the persuasion of Henry VIII. the chieftain of Ulster was induced to accept the title of earl for himself, and to accept so much of English law, as regarded hereditary succession to the principality by the eldest branch. Partiality for Matthew, an illegitimate son, procured for him the title of baron of Dungannon, and destined him for the inheritance. John, in Irish Shane O’Neil, assisted by his brother Hugh, laboured to wane their father from his unjust partiality, and his shameful dereliction of the independence and prerogatives of his illustrious house. The baron, aware of the impressions made on his father, and that the majority of the nation would favour the rights of the legitimate offspring, alarmed the deputy by the news of these beginnings of war, the intrigues of his brothers, and the connivance of his father. Thereupon the earl and his countess were suddenly seized and imprisoned in Dublin. John collected his followers, and declared war against Matthew, to whose practices he imputed the indignity offered to his parents. The deputy hastened to the relief of this creature of English government. John attacked and defeated them, with considerable slaughter; “and, encouraged by this success plundered his father’s mansion, ravaged his whole territory, and spread desolation through a district, the fairest and most flourishing in the whole island, more than sixty miles in

length and forty broad.* This most flourishing district was inhabited and cultivated by the ancient natives. All the attempts of Sir James Crofts, to reduce him, ended in disgrace and disappointment; nor was the war, though it subsided at intervals, totally extinguished for many years.

The abortive attempt of the duke of Northumberland, in favour of Lady Jane, gave but a feeble and brief interruption to the legal rights of queen Mary. At her accession, notwithstanding a promise of general pardon, the few abettors of innovation in Ireland took the alarm. Bale, the bitter declaimer against popery, and Casey of Limerick, fled. Others, confiding in the promised amnesty, remained. George Dowdal was restored to the primacy, and compensated with the priory of Atherdee for the spoil of his diocese by the English intruder. No violent changes were attempted in the establishment, “a licence only was published, as in England, for the celebration of mass, without penalty or compulsion; and among the royal titles, that of supreme head, on earth, of the church of Ireland, still continued to be inserted in the acts of state.”†

The restoration of the house of Kildare deserves mention, among the acts of beneficence that graced the beginning of this reign. Young lord Gerald, by his marriage with the daughter

* Leland, Vol. II. B. III. c. viii. p. 205. This testimony of a writer, no way partial to Ireland, would prove that the English had imported no improvements into Ireland at that period.

† Leland, Vol. II. B. III. c. viii. p. 206.

of Sir Anthony Browne, formed a connexion, that procured his restoration to the honors and estates of his family. Charles Kavenagh was created baron Balyan, and in the patent is styled captain of his sept. O'Connor Faly, so long imprisoned, obtained his liberty, by means of his daughter, who had formed connexions at the court of England. The grantees of his territory, alarmed at his return, prevailed on the deputy to make him renew his submission, and give his son hostage for keeping the peace.

Leland judged rightly, that the desire of re-establishing the antient religion, rather than friendship to Ireland, influenced the queen in granting these graces. “ Mary was the readier to grant such conciliating marks of favour, as she judged of the dispositions of her Irish subjects by what she observed in England; and apprehended the same difficulties in her design of restoring the antient religion, in a country that had scarcely known any other, which she experienced among a people, of whom numbers were averse from it, even to a high degree of fanaticism.”*

All who renounced the catholic faith were secured from severities, by the general pardon, except these who adopted a state incompatible with canon law. Dowdal was appointed commissioner to enquire concerning such people, and ejected the five bishops, who betrayed their religion, not for that offence, but for taking wives.

* Leland, Vol. II. Book III. c. viii. p. 27

and refusing to part with them, contrary to the discipline of the catholic church; viz. Staples of Meath, Browne of Dublin, Lancaster of Kildare, and Traverse of Leighlin.

However, a crime, horrible to relate, which makes humanity shudder, effaces all the merits of this reign, and is not exceeded by the foulest act in the records of human depravity. The antient inhabitants of Leix and O'Faly, ever since the English settlement here, had to guard against English encroachments. Their wars with the English, in defence of their patrimony, were frequent, only suspended occasionally by a peace in name, but a truce in fact. Sometimes ejected, they as often retook possession, at the point of the sword. The English, who beheld with greedy eyes, their fair well cultivated plains, (Morison) wearied with the invincible courage and perseverance with which they defended their inheritance, had recourse to the vilest treason, against the law of nature and nations; against God, appealed to as guarantee of treaties; against man, whose welfare is interested in fidelity to engagements. The chief men of the two septs are invited by the earl of Sussex, as to an amicable conference, to the Rathmore of Mullahmaisteen, to adjust all differences. Thither they unadvisedly came; all the most eminent in war, law, physic and divinity, all the leading men of talents and authority, the stay and prop of the tribes, to the number of four hundred. They rode into the fatal rath, confiding in the olive branch of peace, held out to allure, in the cha-

racter of ambassadors, sacred among all nations, even barbarians and heathens. They perceived, too late, that they had been perfidiously dealt with, when they found themselves on the sudden surrounded by a triple line of horse and foot, who, on a given signal, fell on those unarmed, defenceless gentlemen, and murdered them all on the spot! Ah bloody queen Mary! Yes. Blood-thirsty Philip, and his blood-thirsty spouse, occasioned the death of a few heretics, perhaps five or six, during her reign. In one day she butchered 400 Irish catholics, all cavaliers, and men of chivalrous honor, the heroic descendants of one of the greatest heroes in the western world, Conal Kearnach, chief of the knights of Ulster. And the sequel! full of horrid deeds. The army, thus glutted with the noble blood of the magnanimous, the pious, the hospitable, the brave, were let loose, like blood-hounds, on the multitude, dispersed in their villages, now without council, union or leader. A miserable massacre was made of these unhappy people, over the whole extent of what is now called King and Queen's county, without regarding age or sex. The detail of the diabolical outrages, committed on these large and populous districts, would make hell blush, to be out done by devils in human shape. I leave the reader to surmise the scenes of horror that ensued, when the whole population of an extensive territory was consigned to military execution. A few brave men here and there selling their lives as dearly as they could. What conflagration of villages and unfortunate

victims, rushing from the flames on the spears of their murderers. What shrieks and lamentations of women and children. A brutal soldiery, drunk with blood, and the contents of cellars, raging with fire and sword through the country, cutting down men, women and children, with indiscriminate slaughter; children massacred before their affrighted parents, reserved for their greater torture to die a double death, the first in witnessing the massacre of their innocents, and then be cut down last.

Leland passes over most of these infernal deeds; Plowden omits them altogether. Though the historian of the Pale omits the enormous perfidy by which these gallant clans were circumvented, he does not entirely conceal the inhuman barbarity with which their utter extirpation was pursued. "Numbers of them were cut off in the field, or executed by martial law, and the whole race would have been utterly extirpated, had not the earls of Kildare and Ormond interceded with the queen, and become sureties for the peaceable behaviour of some survivors."*

The copy of the annals of Donegal, that I have perused, and Leland appears to have copied from, misdate this deplorable catastrophe of the O'Moores and O'Connors, confounding it with a similar perfidy, practised on the Butlers, near Kilkenny, in the reign of Elizabeth. Had not the warlike tribes of O'Moore and O'Connor been circumvented by treachery, their lands

* Leland, Vol. II. B. III. c. viii. p. 208. An. of Doneg. MS.

could not have been bestowed to adventurers, and converted into shire ground, without a war as sanguinary as that of O'Neil or O'Kavenagh; nor would there be any necessity for the intercession of Ormond and Kildare, in the reign of Philip and Mary, to save a remnant of them noble families from utter destruction. Curry follows in the same track; and also quotes Lee's Memoir, that queen Elizabeth's officers invited the Irish to treat near her garrison towns, whence they sallied out, to butcher them. That is true of the massacre of the Butlers near Kilkenny, and of the O'Neils near Derry; but Mullagh-Maisteen is not near any garrison town. Why are not the battles of the O'Moores and O'Connors, if fair war was, recorded, before their patrimony was given to strangers, and a remnant of them spared by intercession? The number of the chief men, who assembled for the conference, proves that the sept of the O'Moores was yet in its integrity. Allowing one hundred common men for every chief, 40,000 men inhabited that territory. This was not after the reign of Mary, when a remnant only remained. The place of conference too, on the confines of the Pale and Leix, as between two neighbouring powers, proves, that the O'Moores were then in full possession of their inheritance, which was not the case after the reign of Mary. The names of King and Queen's county, Philipsborough and Maryborough, are irrefragable evidences of the reign, during which Leix and O'Faly were changed into shire ground. As are two

acts of the provincial parliament, confiscating the same from the original proprietors, and vesting it in Philip and Mary, passed in the session of 1556, unquestionable evidence of the date.

“ Where the counties of Leixe, Slewmerge, Offaily, Irry and Glynmalry which belong of right to the king and queen’s most excellent majesties, were of late wholly possessed by the Moores, the Connors, the Dempsies and other rebels, and now by the industrious travaile of the earl of Sussex now lord deputy of Ireland, be brought again to be in the possession of their majesties, and so remain to be disposed as to their highnesses shall be thought good; forasmuch as the well disposing of the aforesaid countreys and planting of good men there, shall not only be a great strength to those quarters, but also a wonderfull assurance of quiet to all the rest of the English countreys, and a great terror to all Irish countreys bordering on the same.”*

“ Prayen the commons in this present parliament assembled, that forasmuch as the O’ Moores, O’ Dempsies, O’ Connors, and others of the Irishry lately inhabiting the countreys of Leixe, Slewmerge, Irry, Glynmalry and Offaily, and by their sundry manifest treasons after many pardons granted to them, and sundry benefits shewed to them, yet often rebelled, committing great hurts to the king and queen’s majesties most loving subjects, by the which they provoked the most worthy prince king Edward VI. brother to our

* Preamble of an Act for the disposition of Leixe and Offailie.

sovereign lady the queen's majesty, to use his power against them, who at length to his great charge did subdue and repress the said Irish enemies, or rebels, bringing into his possession the countreys aforesaid, sithence which time the said O'Moores, O'Dempsies, O'Connors, and others of the said Irishry have traiterously, contrary to their bounden duties, by force entred the said countreys, and them so did hold against the king and queen's majesties, unto such time as their majesties by the diligent and painful travel and labour of the right honourable the earl of Sussex, their majesties lord deputy in Ireland, by the sword, edicted and reduced the said countreys out of, and from the wrongful and usurped possessions of the said Irish enemies or rebels to their majesties former possession."*

There is no necessity for loading protestant England with the sins of their popish predecessors, since they have enough of their own to answer for. Howbeit, upon a fair review of the subject, I think the malice of English papists, towards the antient Irish, left no species of persecution for protestant ingenuity to invent or improve on; since whatever is most base in hypocrisy, whatever is most savage in barbarity, whatever is most atrocious and infernal in cruelty, was abundantly, incessantly, even to su-

* Preamble of an Act whereby the King and Queens Majesties, and the heirs and successors of the Queen be entitled to the counties of Leix, Slewmore, Itry, Glynmalry, and Offallie, and for making the same countreys shire grounds.

pererogation, practised by them, against the antient proprietors of this country.

After the re-establishment of catholicity during this reign, though the Pale parliament revived all the statutes made in Ireland, for the punishment and suppression of heresy, yet it is worthy of remark, and honorable to Irish catholics, that, in the plenitude of power, they persecuted none for heresy. Before their conversion, the Milesians persecuted not the christian missionaries, who preached to them; after their conversion, they persecuted none for dissenting from them. This feature of magnanimity belongs to no other nation. The testimony of a protestant divine, though studiously mutilated and disfigured by himself, is nevertheless strong in support of the laudable spirit of toleration, manifested by Irish catholics.

“ The successor to George Browne in the see of Dublin, presented a petition to the parliament, complaining of devastations made in the archiepiscopal rights, during the late schism. His application was favourably received: it was enacted, that all conveyances made of the lands and possessions belonging to the see, by Browne, without a royal licence, all demises of any parcel of the archbishopric, to his own use, or to that of any bastard of his, should be utterly void. The spirit of popish zeal which glutted all its vengeance in England, was, in Ireland thus happily confined to reversing the acts of an obnoxious prelate, and stigmatizing his offspring with an approbrious name. Those assertors of the Reformation who had not fled from this king-

dom, were by the lenity of Irish government suffered to sink into obscurity and neglect. No warm adversaries of popery stood forth to provoke the severity of persecution; the whole nation seemed to have relapsed into the stupid composure of ignorance and superstition, from which it had been scarcely awakened. And as it thus escaped the effects of Mary's diabolical rancour, several English families, friends to the Reformation, fled into Ireland, and there enjoyed their opinions and worship, in privacy, without notice or molestation."*

The indulgence, enjoyed by protestants in Ireland, during the reign of catholicity, cannot fairly be imputed only to the lenity of Mary's ministers; but more justly to the tolerant spirit of the colony, its parliament, and the nation. Englishmen had in this, as in many other respects, degenerated from their ancestors; for whose fickleness and intolerance, they adopted a firm attachment to the catholic church, together with a spirit of toleration worthy of christians. They degenerated, when the representatives of the Pale declared hospitality a laudable national virtue, not to be infringed. An English political writer, of some eminence, residing some time in Ireland, declared, that one Englishman, born in Ireland, was worth three born in England. This must be allowed degeneracy, but was it not for the better? 'Tis not necessary, with the learned Lynch, to quære who was the father; crossing

* Leland, Vol. II. Book III. c. viii. p. 213.

the breed, and Irish institutions, may explain the difference.

What strange language the spirit of party inspires? The tranquillity of Ireland, on the score of religion, during the reign of queen Mary, is called, a relapse into the stupid composure of ignorance and superstition, from which the nation had scarce been awakened!!! As if the christian religion, which was given to mankind for their instruction and consolation, should become a subject of unceasing litigation, a bone of contention, to be wrangled and fought about, frittered into party badges, inflaming those passions it was meant to subdue. What a pity, the Irish were not roused from their stupid composure, by running after crazy mountebanks, vending their quackeries of new invented doctrines, with as great an assortment of sample patterns, as there are delirious fancies in the heated brains of bible-mad fanatics. So the calm, enjoyed by protestants in Ireland, when they were few, and the catholics all powerful, the effect of an enlightened philosophy, or great native generosity, is the effect of a stupid composure in ignorance and superstition! What pity the neighbouring island partook not somewhat of that stupidity of composure, instead of the active intolerance of burning zeal. It were much to the honor of christianity, and the happiness of mankind, that it had been a little more general.

During the remainder of this reign little occurs worth recording, except a bloody contest between the chieftains of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, O'Neil

and O'Donnel, occasioned by the collision of Irish and English laws. “ Domestic dissention had for some time raged in the leading family of Tirconnel. The chieftain to this district, worn out with age, and oppressed by the unnatural cruelty of his son Calvagh, who had detained him two years in prison, could but ill support the honours of his family, or the independence of his tribe. Hugh, his other son, to revenge these quarrels which had raged between the brothers, fled with his partizans to O’Nial, pressed him to seize the favourable moment of forcing Tirconnel to submit to his superior authority, and offered to assist him in the invasion of his own country, and the destruction of his own family. John was readily persuaded to an expedition so suited to his passions; summoned his vassals and auxiliaries, so as to exhaust all Tirowen, and the whole adjoining tract of Ar-gial of their military inhabitants; and, entering Tirconnel, pitched his camp between two rivers, displaying his great force, and denouncing vengeance against all his opposers. The first alarm of this invasion determined the inhabitants of Tirconnel to secrete their valuable effects, and drive their flocks and herds into the more inaccessible quarter of their country; a precaution which the hostile chieftain affected to treat with contempt and scorn. “ Let them drive our prey into the midst of Leinster, or let them hide it in the South,” cried O’Nial. “ We shall pursue it to the remotest quarter of the island. No power shall protect our enemies; or stop the

progress of the prince and sovereign of Ulster.

“Calvagh, on whom the defence of his country had devolved, found his forces utterly unequal to a contest with this arrogant invader; and as the common danger had reconciled the father and the son, he consulted the old chieftain, on the conduct he was to pursue, and the measures to be taken in this dangerous emergency. “Do not,” said the father, “attempt with our inferior numbers to meet the enemy in the field. O’Nial is advancing on us, and in this new situation his camp bears a formidable aspect; but what though it be provided with stores of every kind; what though every necessary and every luxury is brought thither and exposed to sale, as in a regular market, yet the state and magnificence of the enemy, may be greater than his precaution; attack his camp by night; one sudden and vigorous effort may disperse our enemies at once.”

“The advice was applauded: and two gallant youths freely offered to undertake the dangerous office of entering the camp at the close of day, in order to spy out the circumstances and situation of the enemy. They passed his guards, mixed with his tumultuous soldiers, traversed the camp, and made all their observations, unheeded. An unusual blaze of large tapers directed them to the general’s pavilion, where John O’Nial lay surrounded by his body guards, consisting of sixty Irish vassals, bearing the battle-ax, and as many mercenary Scots, armed with their broad cutting swords and targets.

And so little were the youths suspected, that when supper was brought to these guards, they invited them to partake of their repast. To accept this invitation, was to form a friendship with these men not to be violated: which should prevent them from giving any intelligence, or, if discovered, would have rendered their intelligence suspected.* They therefore declined the courtesy; and flying to their companions, related what they had seen and heard, and enflamed them with impatience to surprise the enemy. Even the old O'Donnel mounted his horse, and offered to lead his countrymen to the attack; they were formed by Calvagh into one compacted body, and, under the conduct of their spies, burst into the camp at midnight, bearing down their opposers, and spreading terror and confusion. John O'Nial, to whose tent the enemy was pressing forward with dreadful slaughter, started at the tumult, found himself surrounded by his guards, and fled precipitately; two youths only accompanied him, sons of the revolted Hugh O'Donnel, and by swimming over rivers, and traversing unknown ways, with difficulty gained a place of safety. The whole army of Farrow dispersed, and left the victors to enjoy the plunder of the camp.

“ Such is the account of this local war, in

* This instance of the honor of Irish spies, recorded by Englishmen and protestants, is one of the evidences of the sacred rights of hospitality among the antient Irish, which forms a striking contrast with the perfidious invitations of their pretended civilizers to the murderous banquet.

which the English government had not sufficient power or authority to interpose.’’*

A swarm of Scotch islanders, invited over by the chieftains of Tyrconnel, joined their countrymen already settled here, ready to enlist in the service of any prince, who would employ them for the purposes of ambition or revenge. In an engagement with deputy Sussex, they were indeed defeated, but not reduced. Thus was unfortunate Ireland lacerated by the incessant wars of Irish chieftains, and fresh swarms of invaders, from all parts of the neighbouring island, Scots, Welsh and English.

In the south, the baron of Ibraken, declared earl of Thomond, renounced the name of O'Brien, and consented to hold the lands annexed to this title, according to English law, as an English subject, and swore allegiance with all his freeholders, to the utter mortification of his Irish adherents. He accepted the title of earl, say the annalists, but gave up the dignity of Dalcais, to the astonishment and indignation of all the descendants of Heber, Heremon, and Ir.

* Leland, Vol. II. Book III. c. viii. p. 215.

PART II.

HITHERTO we have rapidly travelled over a period of four centuries, since the invasion of the exiled king of Leinster with his English and Welsh auxiliaries. His invasion it ought to be called, because he was the prime mover, the leading commander, and his Leinster forces, headed by his son, Donald Kavenagh, formed the main strength of the invading army. A period, crowded with the tumults of anarchy, local wars, and blackened with perfidy and cold-blooded cruelty. We have seen two very opposite characters on this sanguinary theatre, conflicting for the soil. The one, comparatively feeble, but aided by a phlegmatic temper and deliberate policy, unrestrained by any law, human or divine, in the pursuit of its object. The other, mighty and formidable, if they could recover the constitution; but, in the convulsions of anarchy, abusing their native and acquired valor, for mutual destruction, frequently at the instigation, and through the intrigues of their destroyers. We have seen one race of men, planted in the English Pale, vow the extermination of the whole Milesian race, co-members, though sounder and purer, of the same catholic church. We have seen that impious plan, first laid down by father Gerald Barry, a popish priest, in these memorable words,

“ debilitentur, deleantur ;” i. e. let the Milesians be debilitated and exterminated, pursued with a cool, undeviating policy, unexampled since the destruction of the Canaanites. We have seen the heads of the catholic church shamefully prostituting their spiritual authority, to abet an unjustifiable invasion, for English subsidy, and to extend their temporal power over the catholic church of Ireland, the only limb of the western church exempt from that profane mixture of spirituals and temporals. An invasion, not like most others, for dominion, but for extermination, and the seizure of all private property. We have seen men, of the same race and religion, prosecuting each other with vengeful, implacable war, to the utter overthrow and destruction of the whole of them. We have seen the popish penal code, decreed against the old natives, by members of the same church, more sanguinary and inhuman, than that dictated by religious rancour and national antipathy afterwards. Barbarous decrees, worthy only of Mahometans, which should have opened the eyes of the nation, if they were not blinded by self-conceit, and too mean an opinion of the Pale, which was tributary to them, and whose decrees they laughed at, as impotent bravados. They soon had, and their posterity has had, abundant cause to lament their mad divisions, and their improvident contempt for the English garrison, planted in their country, animated with implacable hatred towards them, and ardently thirsting for their lives and properties. The reader may perceive,

from unquestionable facts, that difference of religion is not really the efficient cause of the mal-administration of Irish affairs; though it covered the selfish policy, of a very selfish nation, with a plausible veil.

After reviewing the horrors of war and perfidies, that afflicted this unhappy people so long; all the evils, that flowed from excessive pride, and its concomitant, vindictiveness, in justice to a departed nation, we must take a peep at their counterbalancing comforts. The Milesian tillers were freeholders, paying but a moderate tax to their chiefs, which was spent in hospitality among themselves. Their labour was moderate, and their enjoyments many. Freedom they enjoyed even to excess, and an elective chief, without any mercenary force, could not tyrannize over a people of warriors. Vehement in friendship as in enmity, they were the most social, neighbourly, hospitable, charitable people in the world. Affliction, distress, never wanted cordial sympathy or relief. Hospitality was not only a national virtue, practised by all ranks, but it was further established by law, and that antecedent to Christianity. An estate was assigned, and a building erected, for that purpose, entrusted to a Biatach, i. e. hospitaller, bound to entertain all travellers with diet and lodging, for one or more days and nights, according to rank or exigency; the allowance and time for each being distinctly specified in the Brehon laws. The hospitable lawgivers were not satisfied with providing comforts and ease for the stranger and

traveller, they moreover attended to furnish them with amusements and pleasures. The Biatach must have a chess-board in readiness, a kind of play which the Milesians delighted in, and the bard must be at hand, to touch the tuneful lyre. Other accommodations have been reported; but, if ever true, they were abolished by the introduction of Christianity. Further, the Biatach must have messengers on the highways, to invite and guide all passengers to the feast, and “compel them to come in;” since, it is fair to use a gospel phrase, in relating an evangelical virtue, unparalleled in any other nation or age. Will any man wonder, that such a people should have so quickly embraced Christianity, without making martyr or confessor, without drawing a single drop of blood, or confining preacher or convert a single hour? The evangelical counsels they had already practised, in high perfection, before they heard them preached by christian missionaries; scarcely having any thing to learn, but the mysteries, rites and sacraments. But one may justly wonder, wherefore a people, so renowned for sanctity and learning, whose sublime virtues balanced their terrible faults, pride and vindictiveness, should be delivered over to the most cruel, unrelenting enemies, long agonizing tortures, and final excision! By the confession of their enemies, no nation in the world has suffered such dreadful and long-continued calamities, except the Jews; and surely the Irish have not crucified the Son of God, whose flock they increased by innumerable proselytes, and adorned by the prac-

tice of the most exalted virtues. For what crime, or for what mysterious purpose, has he sacrificed this generous and brave people? Such have been the frequent appeals of our bards to heaven. Shall human infirmity attempt a solution? The proximate cause of their calamitous overthrow consisted in their implacable animosities against each other, springing from excessive family and personal pride, into which the known magnanimity of their ancestors had too generally degenerated, receiving constant fuel from the adulatory compositions of their poets-laureat. The fall of Ireland was prophesied by its great apostle, St. Patrick, and afterwards by many of its saints, who all agreed in promising it a glorious resurrection. The final cause of this deplorable catastrophe was, probably, not concealed from them; but, if they have divulged it, I had not the happiness to meet any of their works on this deep and awful subject. They foretold the great naval power and prosperity of England; together with its schism and heresy, and the decline of that power. All these events are so many links in the great chain of causes and effects, that, by a mysterious, but unerring operation, produce the various appearances, the diversity of scenes and revolutions, that succeed each other on the theatre of the world. Nations and empires, at particular periods, and in different places, arise to eminence, in arts, sciences, prosperity and power. These have, like every thing mortal, their limited periods, after which they begin to decline, to make way for others. Virtue, prosperity, luxury, decline, are

four cardinal points in the fatal circle, that involves the fortunes of nations and families.

If the scene has been hitherto turbulent and sanguinary, it is speedily to be darkened, with a lowering tempest, pregnant with ruin to the antient inhabitants. The antient glory and happiness of the island of sanctity, learning, hospitality and heroism, is to be trampled under foot. In addition to their former misfortunes, a fresh scourge is prepared for the proud Gathelians. If popish England assailed their persons and properties, protestant England assaults even the sanctuary of conscience. The loss of life, and its comforts, God knows! was grievous enough; but the attempt of wresting from them, by tyrannic violence, their belief, and hopes of an immortal inheritance, was still reserved to fill the cup of misery brimfull, and drive a religious people to utter despair. The universal law of re-action brought down the visitation of offended heaven on popish England, during nearly two centuries; and involved the English settlers in a participation of the same evils they inflicted or meditated against the antient race, with whose posterity theirs, for the most part, is confounded in one mass of common wretchedness.

The instrument, for effecting the total change of religion in England, and persecuting the Irish of both races, with a similar intent, was extremely well adapted for that bold experiment of tyranny. Harry's illegitimate daughter, for such she was, even by the law of nature, as she was his daughter's child, dissembled her reli-

gious opinions with great art, during Mary's reign, and in the beginning of her own. On hearing of the persecuting queen's death, she rode up to London, put in her claim for the crown, was accepted, and took the coronation oath in the usual form, including a solemn promise of maintaining the constitution in church and state, as she found it left by Mary. An oath she regarded as little as her father did his own, or his matrimonial vows. Elizabeth was of a good stature, red-haired, with grey blue eyes, with a sharp, piercing physiognomy, expressive of art, subtlety and dissimulation. Freckled in the face, and slightly pitted, though she relished the incense of judicious adulation, she was penetrating enough to discern, that the complimentary gallantries of courtiers regarded more her power than her personal charms. She inherited all the good and bad qualities of her father; but rather exceeded him, at least in the last. Like him, she was, tyrannical, proud, violent, vindictive, lustful and capricious, yet with more art; she knew how to disguise, conceal or palliate these odious passions. Endued with a penetrating discernment of men and their characters, she was enabled to chuse proper ministers for every undertaking. Two of the ablest and worst men of her age were her ministers; Cecil and Bacon, related to each other. The only signal instance recorded, in which she could accuse herself of having subjected her judgment to the dictates of love, was in the choice of Essex for the Irish war. His failure therein was in-

strumental in bringing him to the block and her to her grave. While the catholic continued the national religion of England and Ireland, she did not consider herself securely seated on the throne, being a bastard, according to the laws and decisions of that church. She therefore meditated the overthrow of that church, and substitute for it a novel one, in the formation of which she had great share; a daring scheme, which she pursued with wonderful art, obstinacy and cruelty, during her whole reign. Like her father and sister, she persecuted; but, a better hypocrite than either, she metamorphosed her persecution on the score of religion, into the execution of the law against state criminals; and with consummate address, put on, sometimes, an air of commiseration for the unfortunate culprits, the severity of whose sentence she would sometimes condescend to mitigate, affecting lenity. Cecil, plot-maker in chief to her and her successor, was powerfully instrumental in forwarding her disguised persecution: and Mary, the captive queen of Scots, whom she hated as a catholic, a beauty, and the lawful heir to the throne, furnished a good pretext for destroying the catholic magnates of England, who would not adopt her new creed and ritual. She cordially hated the Irish; not only for being Irish, like the rest of her countrymen, but, moreover, for the stubborn opposition her reformation met there. In England her victims were numerous: of whom some perished in jails, dungeons, black holes, &c. some were privately tortured on the

rack, whipt, &c. and some privately executed, and some publicly. In Ireland this lioness slew many more, all her wars with O'Neil being in a very principal measure, crusades against catholicity; for the chief article of accusation against him was, his protection of the catholic religion, monasteries and seminaries for the education of clergymen.

The successful war of Elizabeth on the catholic church of England was tyrannic and inhuman, in as much as conversion, enforced by fines, imprisonments, torture and death, is unworthy of the christian religion, degrading to humanity, and can only make hypocrites. It was truly a desperate undertaking, when we consider the power of her enemy, Philip II. of Spain, and the possibility of her catholic subjects being driven by persecution to join the invaders, had the Spanish forces, then deemed the best in Europe, effected a landing. Such, at least, has been the conduct of the reformed, in similar circumstances. But, if the attempt was tyrannic and desperate in England, it was additionally absurd in Ireland. People were here punished, not only for not violating their conscience; but there were no suitable means employed, to reconcile them to the change proposed. Most of the ministers, sent over to preach to them, are described by cotemporary protestants, as immoral, and ignorant, especially of the country language; so that she might as well have sent her English rituals, and English preachers, to preach to Chinese as to Irish, in her time. In all the avenues to her new

church, nothing meets the eye, but fines, imprisonments, torture, death; all whose effect was to make the people miserable, provoke insurrections, wars, destruction and confiscation. The new religion could only gain terrified or interested hypocrites, while the means and methods of persuasion were neglected or inadequate. “The clergy in Ireland, excepting the grave fathers, who are in high places about the state, and some few others, who are lately planted in the new college, are generally bad, licentious, and most disordered. . . . Whatever disorders are in the church of England, may be seen in that of Ireland, and much more, namely, gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinency, careless sloth, and generally all disordered life in the common clergymen. And besides these, they have particular enormities; they neither read the scripture, nor preach to the people, only they take the tythes and offerings, and gather what fruit they can off their livings, which they convert as badly.”* That the Irish clergy were of opposite character, and merited the esteem of their flocks by their morals, piety and diligence we have from the same authorities. “It’s a great wonder, to see the odds, which is between the zeal of popish priests and the ministers of the gospel. For they spare not to come out of Spain, from Rome, and from Rheims, by long toil and dangerous travelling hither; where they know peril of death awaiteth them, and no reward, or riches

* Spencer, (on this period). State of Ireland.

to be found, only to draw the people to the church of Rome. Whereas, some of our idle ministers, having a way for credit and estimation thereby opened, and having livings of the country offered to them, without pains, and without peril, will neither for the same, nor for any love of God, or zeal of religion, be drawn forth from their warm nests, to look out into God's harvest."* Besides prepossession, every motive of persuasion, edification, esteem, were on the side of the catholic Irish nation. With the innovators there was nothing but brutal force, cruelty, perfidy, and abominable morals. Moreover, national antipathy was, in itself, a strong obstacle to innovations, coming imported from a quarter whence this country seldom received benefits, but, full often, the greatest injuries. "It seems difficult to conceive any more unjust or impolitic act of government, than an attempt to force new modes of religious faith and worship by severe penalties, upon a rude, superstitious, and unlettered people. Persecutions or attempts to force conscience will never produce conviction. They are calculated only to make hypocrites or martyrs; and accordingly the violence committed by the regency of Edward, and continued by Elizabeth, to force the reformed religion on Ireland, had no other effect, than to foment a general disaffection to the English government; a disaffection so general, as to induce Philip II. of Spain, to attempt partial descents on the southern coasts of this

* Spencer's State of Ireland.

island, preparatory to his meditated attack upon England.”*

Encouraged in England, by the success of her father and her infant brother in a similar enterprise, relying on an obsequious parliament, a venal prelacy, a timid, cautious nobility, and the absolute power invested in the crown, since the rival houses of York and Lancaster were united in the person of Henry VII. when both parties, hating and dreading each other, finding the rights and claims of all the objects of their respective devotion centered in one man, set no limits to their obsequiousness, and vied in servility. Elizabeth made ample use of this plenitude of arbitrary power in England, as well as sham plots, and fictitious insurrections, for the supposed deliverance of captive queen Mary, to prostrate the pillars of the ancient church. In Ireland, expecting greater opposition, she sent instructions to her deputy, Sussex, to pack a parliament, and instruct the members in the duty she expected from them.

The north and south of Ireland were still distracted, by the seeds of commotions contrived and planted therein by Harry VIII. Daniel O’Brien was at variance with the earl of Thomond, for chieftainry, and the Irish constitution. The North was disturbed by causes of the same kind, which committed Shane O’Neil in a war with the baron of Dungannon, in which, the

* Speech of Lord Clare in the Irish House of Lords, Feb. 10, 1800.

latter was defeated and slain. This spirited prince perceived, from the encreasing power of the English in Ireland, and the hard measure dealt by them to two powerful clans, the necessity of vigorous measures, not barely in support of independence, but for existence. The first step of greatest consequence to attain security was, to re-establish the antient bond of union among the chieftains, at least of the north, which consisted in the authority exercised by the Hy-Nialls, as kings of Ulster, over the rest of the chieftains. This authority, enfeebled and precarious, since the fall of the monarchy and constitution, was slighted altogether, during the civil wars between him and the baron of Dungannon, he now endeavoured to restore. With this intent he marched into O'Reilly's country, (Cavan,) and compelled him to make homage and give hostages. Thence to Donegal, where he took Calvach O'Donel, his old enemy, unprepared to meet him in the field and exacted from him similar submission. The English, alarmed at the progress of O'Nial, asserting his sovereignty in Ulster, proclaimed a general hosting, and the deputy, Sussex, marched in quest of the northern chieftain; but, before hostilities commenced, they came to an accommodation. O'Nial pleaded, that the reduction of his own refractory vassals was but a just exercise of his legitimate authority, furnishing no fair pretence for English interference. That his irruptions into the Pale were provoked by injuries, and by designs formed to cut him off by assassination, of which he offered

proof. A treaty was provisionally concluded, by which O'Nial was to be acknowledged dynast of Tyrowen, with all the rights and prerogatives of that station, provided parliament would sanction it. That he should still retain the title of earl of Tyrowen, with the antient authority over all who would be found to owe him vassalage. The treaty being thus concluded to O'Nial's satisfaction, he resolved to attend the queen in person for its ratification, and agree to any reasonable conditions, that might conduce to its stability, but to attend her in a manner suitable to his princely dignity. "He appeared in London, attended by a guard of gallowglasses, arrayed in the richest habiliments of their country, armed with the battle-ax, their heads bare, their hair flowing on their shoulders, their linen vests dyed with saffron, with long and open sleeves, and surcharged with their short military harness; a spectacle astonishing to the people, who imagined that they beheld the inhabitants of some distant quarter of the globe." They imagined not wrong; for they were an oriental people, emigrated into this western isle, still retaining the dress, manners, institution and language of their ancestors, without much alteration, except their conversion to christianity, during some thousands of years.

Elizabeth with affected tenderness and condescension received O'Nial; who "with firmness and composure acknowledged, that he had opposed the succession of Matthew's children to the sovereignty of Tirowen. But it was well

known, (he added,) that this Matthew, whom Henry the eighth had incautiously created baron of Dungannon, was the offspring of a mean woman of Dundalk, the wife of a smith, and for sixteen years reputed to be his son; until earl Conn accepted him as his child, on the allegation of an adulteress, and with a shameful partiality preferred him to his legitimate issue. That if he himself were to resign his pretensions in favour of any son of such a father, yet more than one hundred persons of the name of O'Nial were ready to assert the honour of their family against the usurpation of any spurious race. That the letters patent, on which their claim was founded, were in effect vain and frivolous; for Conn, by the antient institutions of his country, could claim no right in Tirowen, but during his own life; nor was he empowered to surrender or exchange his tenure, without consent of all the lords and inhabitants of this territory. Or if the cause should be determined by the English law, it is the known order and course of this law that no grants can be made by letters patent, until an inquisition be previously held of the lands to be conveyed: but no such inquisition had been held in Tirowen, which had not known the English law, nor ever been reduced to an English county. Were it still insisted that the inheritance should descend in succession to the rightful heir, he was rightful heir, as eldest of the legitimate sons of Conn. But his pre-eminence was derived from an origin, still more glorious; from the free election of his country-

men, who on his father's death had chosen him their leader, as the best and bravest of his family; an election ever practised in his country without any application to the crown of England. And thus invested with the sovereignty of Tir-owen, he claimed only those rights and jurisdictions, which a long train of predecessors had enjoyed, which were ascertained and recorded, so as to exclude all controversy, and to render the interposition of the English government totally unnecessary."* He pathetically represented the injuries he had received, the desperate attempts made to destroy him, and lamented the iniquity of his enemies, which had driven him to seek his own security, by any appearance of opposition to the royal authority. The flattery of his address, and the strength of his allegations, had such an effect upon Elizabeth, that she dismissed him with presents and assurances of her favour.

O'Nial, now become ally of the queen, exerted himself in her service. He encountered and defeated the Hebride Scots, ever swarming into Ulster, slew their leader, and retook some towns claimed by the English. Satisfied with these services, the queen dispatched to him letters patent, confirming the terms of their former agreement, expressing entire approbation of his conduct. This confirmation of the treaty gave him some respite, to carry on his original plan of recovering the sovereignty of Ulster; a thing not to be achieved by patents, without the sanction

* Ireland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. i. p. 222.

of a good army. Accordingly, he kept arming and training his followers, which gave umbrage to two sorts of people, the chieftains, who were unwilling to own any superior; and the settlers, who dreaded nothing so much as the revival of subordination and union among the Irish, who dreaded the power of Ulster, if its kingdom was restored. The representations of these to the queen, of O'Nial's hostile intentions, drew from her this laconic reply: "Tell my friends, if he arise, it will turn to their advantage. There will be estates for them who want." To Sussex succeeded Arnold, an English knight, in the government of the colony, and to him shortly after, Sir Henry Sydney, who had served before in that station, to the satisfaction of his employers, and was well acquainted with the country, the temper of its inhabitants, and the method of subduing by division. To assist him in forwarding the English interest, Saint Leger was appointed president of Munster, and Randolph was stationed at Derry, with a strong and well provided garrison. A new privy council, *de propaganda fide*, was established, with special instructions to assist the deputy in enforcing the authority of the queen and her laws, and propagating queen Bess's true religion. Mac Arthy lord of Desmond, was induced to hold his territory by English tenure; and become a peer of parliament by the title of earl of Clancarthy. This caused the magnanimous O'Nial to observe to some English commissioners; "A precious earl! I keep a lacquay as noble as he. But let him

enjoy his honour; it is not worthy of O'Nial. I have indeed made peace with the queen at her desire; but I have not forgotten the royal dignity of my ancestors. Ulster was theirs, and shall be mine. With the sword they won it; with the sword I will maintain it."

The hostile views of Elizabeth on O'Nial, notwithstanding her late apparent friendship, was manifested by the strong garrison, stationed in Derry; but the slaughter committed by that garrison on some of O'Nial's men, near the walls of that town, is related in such a manner by the Pale writers, as to excite a suspicion of wilful inaccuracy. "He led his forces to the walls of Derry, and without directly attacking the town, insolently braved the garrison. Randolph, their commander, more spirited than cautious, issued out against a party of his boisterous followers, and repelled them with considerable slaughter, but lost his life in the encounter. This action was not justified by any direct hostilities committed by O'Nial."* What should bring O'Nial, or any of his men, near the walls of Derry, to brave the garrison, when they made no attack, and, most probably, expected none? O'Nial was then at peace with the English, committing no hostilities. 'The slaughter of his men afforded him a fair occasion of complaint. He called for a conference with the deputy, to explain his grievances; then he must be confident that the deputy must acknowledge this slaughter

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. i. p. 232.

to be a grievance. It was, probably, one of those stratagems, alluded to by captain Lee, in his memorial. "They invited four hundred of this country people, (speaking of the north,) near where your garrison was placed, on pretence of doing your majesty service, and there most dishonorably murdered them." War with the English, which was contrary to O'Nial's interest, while at variance with the northern chieftains struggling against his authority, proves this to have been a perfidious massacre. He had to fight at once, the forces of Elizabeth, Maguire, O'Donel of Donegal, and some other heads of septs; especially O'Donel, the next to O'Nial in power, who was then his bitter enemy. (Lee). Thus were the toils completely drawn round him. None of the expected forces come from Spain or the pope. Desmond, whom he had solicited, joined the queen's forces, and he was at once attacked from all quarters. In several sharp encounters his forces were thinned. Numbers deserted, from the fatigue of forced marches, want, and the severity of continual service. O'Nial, in a few months, lost more than 3500 of his men; when hunted, together with the remainder, from one retreat to another, harassed by famine, without hope or resource, he resolved to cast himself at the deputy's feet, and sue for mercy. In this forlorn situation, he was persuaded to put himself in the protection of the Scots, then encamped at Clan-hu-boy. He arrived there with about fifty horsemen, was received with every appearance of friendship, and shortly after assassinated, with all

his retinue. Piers, an English officer, who had excited the Scots to commit the murder, sent his head to Dublin; for which he was rewarded with a thousand marks.

Sydney immediately marched into Tyrone, to take advantage of the disordered state of that country, and promote such arrangements as would be advantageous to the English interest. In the humbled distracted state of Tyrone, he assumed the power of nominating Tirlough Lynnough O'Nial, grandson of Conbaccagh, the son-in-law of Kildare, successor to John. A man of meek and humble disposition, suited the views of the English. He bound himself by indenture, to renounce the claim of sovereignty over Ulster, to be faithful to the crown, to suffer the sons of Matthew to enjoy their demesnes unmolested. To secure these dispositions, favourable to English interest, the son of John O'Nial, an hostage, was kept in close confinement, in the castle of Dublin. The Irish chieftains, blinded by their pride to the last, were well satisfied with exemption from the authority of O'Nial, hugging that devouring anarchy, politically cherished by their enemies, which was to engulph their whole nation and its honors, in one common tomb. With these subtle views, the artful queen concluded a treaty with John O'Nial, conformable to his wishes, encouraging him to resume the sovereignty of Ulster. She employed him as an instrument, to chastize Maguire, and other lords, who openly resisted English encroachments; to humble the Scots, in Ulster,

who were held to be dangerous enemies to the English interest. When he had rendered these important services, pretences were soon found to quarrel with him, and to turn against him a confederacy of those very chieftains, whom his obedience to the queen's orders must have inflamed against him.

The principal settlers were involved in similar confusion. Desmond and Ormond had disputes about their boundaries; and in the Irish manner, chose to decide the contest by arms, instead of litigation. Desmond was defeated, wounded and taken prisoner. Though the earl was prisoner, his family was powerful; and Ormond, prudently declining the chances of war, referred the controversy to the queen. They attended her; she heard the cause, and proposed terms of accommodation to both parties, which were accepted: injunctions to assist the execution of the queen's laws, in the collection of the revenues; in the substitution of the English law for the Brehon. Desmond was referred to the deputy for further instructions, to whom he declared, that, "as to the furtherance of religion in Munster, having no knowledge in learning, and being ignorant of what was to be done in that behalf, he would aid and maintain whatever was appointed by commissioners nominated for the purpose." This is no proof of Desmond's absolute illiteracy. It might have been an evasion of the question, alleging his ignorance of theological learning, similar to the caution of lord Fingal, in avoiding a religious controversy with chancellor Redesdale,

and referring it to the clergy, as better informed in ecclesiastical studies.

The arts, that were employed to forward the changes in religion, have never been sufficiently developed; but must be sought by moral criticism. The pliant Ormond was probably enjoined, to watch the motions of Desmond; and, if he was found averse to the Reformation, and an encourager of seminaries, to renew his complaints against him on the ground of temporal interest, to shun the imputation of religious persecution. Ormond's complaint to the queen, of the partiality of her deputy to his rival, cannot be otherwise understood. For the deputy would undoubtedly adhere to the terms proposed by the queen, and accepted by the litigants, and decide in favour of him who was most ready to abide thereby. In obedience to the queen's orders, Desmond repaired to London, to give an account of his conduct; where he, and his brother, sir John, were committed close prisoners to the Tower, which confirmed in them that aversion to English government, which only ended with their lives.

Poor Ireland still continued to experience all the horrors of complicated anarchy; a prey to the conflicts of opposite parties, wasting it with numerous petty hostilities in different quarters, extortions, rapine and massacres. The old native and English settlers, the old and new adventurers, Scotch freebooters, the discord bred by two opposite systems of law, and the rancour of systems of religion, all produced incessant disturbances. Sir Edward Butler rose in arms against

some of the Geraldines in Munster. James Fitzgerald of Desmond, drew his sword against his kinsman, the baron of Lixnaw. The O'Moores and O'Connors were struggling for the recovery of some of their confiscated properties. Tirlough Lynnough of Tyrone engaged a thousand Scots in his service, while the earl of Clancarty claimed the sovereignty of south Munster, and attacked some of his neighbours.

We are now come to the epoch, that will soon determine the fate of the antient Irish, still blind to the impending catastrophe, still inflated with family pride, and rushing headlong to destruction by family quarrels. No public authority or national executive, not so much as a provincial government acknowledged, but every clan for itself, amidst intestine divisions amongst each clan, and this anarchy maintained by obstinate warfare, if the descendant of a provincial king attempted to enforce the authority of his predecessors, according to the constitution. Far otherwise was the state of the English. They were not indeed equal in physical force, to the antient inhabitants; neither in numbers, bodily strength, agility, or the use of arms: but they were not, like them, a power destitute of counsel and authority, working its own ruin. They had a legislative and executive, which were obeyed and respected; they had a public force, and revenue to maintain it; and the power of England was convenient, to supply men, money and arms.

The Pale was now become formidable, by its acquisitions of territory; but still more by the

support of England, which could give undivided attention to Irish affairs, as she had no continental wars to apprehend, nor any war with Scotland, as long as Elizabeth remained single, because James was certain of the succession in that case. The queen, then in the eleventh year of her reign, convened a parliament of the English province, partly to devise means of furthering the conquest of Ireland, and securing to the crown, subsidies and duties from present and future acquisitions; perhaps chiefly to propagate her adopted scheme of religion. As a great opposition was expected to some of these measures, no exertion was spared to prepare a majority for the crown, and a vote for the change of religion. To use the words of a protestant historian, “considerable management had been used, and even great irregularities committed, in the elections and returns of the commons. Stanihurst, recorder of Dublin, and Sir Christopher Barnewal, a favourite of the old English race, were proposed by their several partizans for the office of speaker: and the election of Stanihurst, by the influence of the court, served to enrage the party in opposition. Barnewal, who was esteemed for his political knowledge, insisted that the present House of Commons was most illegally constituted, and therefore opposed the admission of any bill; and he was supported by Sir Edmund Butler, who now appeared in his place. In proof of the assertion it was alledged, that several were returned members for towns not incorporated; that several sheriffs and ma-

gistrates of corporations had returned themselves; but above all, that numbers of Englishmen had been elected and returned as burgesses for towns which they had never seen nor known, far from being residents, as the laws direct.

Four days were spent in clamorous altercation; the discontented members declaring with great violence against receiving any bill, or proceeding on any business. The speaker attended the lord deputy and council, to explain their objections to the constitution of the House of Commons. The judges were consulted; and declared that those returned for towns not incorporated, and the magistrates who had returned themselves were incapable of sitting in parliament; but as to the members not resident in the towns for which they were returned, that they were entitled to their seats, and that the penalty of returning them should alight on the respective sheriffs; a decision which still left the government that majority of friends, which so much pains had been taken to acquire; and which of consequence increased the violence of the opposite party; nor did the clamour cease, until the judges came to the Commons House, and there avowed their opinion.”* The corruption of the legislature, by false returns or otherwise, is one of the most heinous treasons that can be committed against society; yet this illegitimate proceeding was found necessary to gain a vote for the queen’s new religion, as illegitimate as her

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. i. p. 241, 242

birth.* In the house of lords there was also a strenuous opposition, both to the taxes and to the proposed change in religion.

The inhabitants of the Pale had, as it appears from this instance, as well as from others, somewhat degenerated. For, instead of changing from one religion to another, as their kindred in South Britain did, thrice in three reigns, as the pendulum obeys the impulse communicated to it, they opposed the measure with firm resolution. To what cause is this difference ascribable? Is it to mixture with Milesian blood, to the soil, climate, St. Patrick's blessing and promise, the exemplary conduct, piety and diligence of the clergy, or to all united, I shall not determine. The fact itself is obvious. Every effect must partake something of the nature of its productive and instrumental causes; "no bad tree bringeth

*The Pale parliament, in the 18th of Henry VIII. enacted, that the marriage of king Henry with queen Catherine was unlawful and void; the issue of said marriage (Mary) to be illegitimate; and the crown should descend to the children of his "most dear and entirely beloved wife queen Anne" (Elizabeth;) shortly after, on the condemnation and death of Anne Boleyn, and the marriage of Henry with Jane Seymour, it passed sentence of attainder on Anne, declared Henry's former marriages null and void, and placed the succession in his heirs by queen Jane. But no sooner had intelligence arrived, of the accession of Mary, than they annulled their former acts, declared Mary legitimate, and the crown to be vested in her and her heirs. With the same servility, they declare Elizabeth, in the second year of her reign, to be rightly, lineally and lawfully descended, make all former acts derogatory thereto void, (and if 'twas in their power) consign them to oblivion.

forth good fruit." Now it is evident, that the reformation forced its way upon reluctant Irishmen, by these alarming means, a packed parliament, the terror of a vengeful queen, and the opinion of corrupt judges; and that the degenerate popish parliament of the English province defended the principles of the constitution, and the magna charta obtained by their ancestors, with the same zeal and courage with which they adhered to their religion, while the protestant parliament of England, of the same race, servilely bowed to the haughty commands of a tyrant.

Notwithstanding the staunch attachment of the colony to its own interests, it abated not of its rancorous antipathy to the ancient inhabitants; as appears from the attainder of Shane O'Neil, passed *nem. con.* and their impudent donation of almost all Ulster to the queen; as if he, a sovereign prince, could be denominated or treated as a rebel; as if all the territory were his private property. The fables and absurdities, contained in this act of attainder, deserve to be mentioned, as evidences of the national antipathy rancoring in the minds and hearts of the settlers.

In the preamble to this remarkable act, after stating, that they would be noted to the world for ingrate and unnatural people, did they not uphold and maintain the kingly estate with the rampier of their carcasses and consumption of their goods (lives and fortunes men; that the magnificence of a prince resteth in populous, rich and well-governed regions, which were pos-

sessed by her majesty by the “ death and final destruction of that caitiffe and miserable reble Shane O’Nellie,” who refused the name of a subject, and took upon him the office of a prince, for whose manifold offences their intent was, to intitle her majesty, &c. to the dominion and territories of Ulster, as a foundation laid (perhaps the great object) for your highness to **PLANT** and **DISPOSE** the same for **ENCREASING** **OF YOUR REVENUE**, **STRENGTHENING OF US**, &c. it then proceeds to state that Henry VIII. had created his father earl of Tyrone, and his son Matthew, baron of Dungannon; that Shane after the decease of his father, usurped and took upon him the name of O’Neyle, with the superiority, &c. of all the lords and captains of Ulster, according to the Irish custome,* in scorn of the English creation: that he made war upon her majesty, took hostages from O’Reily; made O’Doneile of Tirconnel and his family prisoners; built a fort in an island in Tyrone, which he called Foohnegall, i. e. the hate of Englishmen; that he hanged two English spies; and cruelly tortured an English galloglass: then it allows, that he and the queen had made peace; mentions the proposed conference with the lord deputy at

* The Pale legislature knew, that he followed the custom of his house, which always claimed the sovereignty of Ulster. If O’Nial was really and bona fide a subject appearing in arms against his sovereign, there was no necessity to search for other parts of his life for his condemnation, or to patch up the queen’s title, to his private estate, on the fable of king Gurmunde and Belin; the existing laws were sufficient.

Dundalk, but conceals the cause, the massacre of his men at Derry; states his destroying the church of Armagh; his irruptions into Fermanagh, and into the Pale; his defeat; the dispersion of his followers; his intended submission: then follows his assassination, by the Scots, in which, to be sure, the deputy was not concerned. O'Neil, his secretary, and fifty horsemen, having joined the Scots, encamped at Clancboy, entered the tent of the commander, Alexander Oge, "where after a few dissembled gratulatorie words used betwixt them they fell to quaffing and drinking of wine. This Agnes Ileys sonne, all inflamed with malice and desire of revenge for the death of his father and uncle, began to minister quarelling talke to O'Neyle, who took same verie hot, and after some reproachfull words past betwixt them, the said Gillaspikie demaunded of the secretorie whether he had bruted abroad that the ladie his aunt, wife unto James Mac Conill, did offer to come out of Scotland into Ireland, to marrie with O'Neyle, the secretorie affirmed himselfe to be the author of that report, and said withall that if his aunt were queen of Scotland shee might be well contented to match herselfe with O'Neyle; the other with that gave him the lye, and said that the lady his aunt was a woman of that honestie and reputation, as would not take him that was the betrayer and murderer of her worthy husband. O'Neyle giving care to the talke, began to intimidate his secretorie's quarell, and thereupon Gillaspikie withdrew himselfe out of the tent and came

abroade amongst his men, who forthwith raised a fray and fell to killing of O'Neyle's men, and the Scotese as people thirstie of O'Neyle's bloud, for requiting the slaughter of their master and kinsfolke,* assembled together in a throng and thrust into the tent where the said O'Neyle was, and there with their slaughter swords hewed him to pieces, slew his secretorie and all those that were with him, except a verie few which escaped by their horses. Alexander Oge, after his bouchery handling of this cruell tyrant, caused his mangled carcasse to be caried to an old ruinous church neer unto the camp, where for lack of a better shroud he was wrapt in a kerns old shirt, and there miserably interred, a fit end for such a begining, and a funerall pompe convenient for so great a defacer of God's temples, and withstander of his prince's lawes and regall authoritie. And after being foure dayes in earth, was taken up by William Pierce, and his head sundred from his bodie was brought unto the said lord deputie to Drogheda, the one-and-twentieth day of June, in the year of our Lord God a thousand five hundred threescore and seven, and from thence carried unto the citie of Dublin, where it was bodied with a stake, and standeth on the top of your majestie's castle of Dublin." Having thus dispatched O'Nial they proceed to state her many titles to Ulster, **FARR BEYOND** (they say) the lynage of the O'Nial's.

* This he did in the service of queen Elizabeth, and we see the envoy, captain Piers, stirred up the Scotch to revenge it on him.

And first the fable “ that at the begining, afore the comming of Irishmen into the said land, they were dwelling in a province of Spaine, the which is called Biscan, whereof Byon was a member, and the chief citie. And that at the said Irishmen’s comming into Ireland, one king Gurmond, sonne to the noble king Belin, king of Great Britaine, which now is called England, was lord of Bayon, as many of his successours were to the time of king Henry the second, first conquerour of this realm, and therefore the Irishmen should be the king of England his people, and Ireland his land. Another title is, that at the same time that Irishmen came out of Biscay as exhiled persons in sixty ships, they met with the same king Gurmond upon the sea, at the yles of Orcades, then comming from Denmark with great victory, their captaines called Heberus and Hermon, went to this king, and him told the cause of their comming out of Biscay, and him prayed with great instance that he would graunt unto them that they might inhabit some land in the west. The king at the last by advise of his counceel granted them Ireland to inhabite, and assigned unto them guides for the sea to bring them thither: and therefore they should and ought to be the king of England’s men.” The act continues to assert many titles, after the invasion of Henry, not worthy to be hereinserted; (but what becomes of prescription? The O’Nials were in possession of Ulster upwards of twenty-five centuries;) after which it attaints O’Neil; confiscates not only his, but the lands

of his adherents;* endeavours to extinguish the name, and exempts† the chiefs of Ulster from their rule. “Thus was the name of O’Neal, with the power and dignity of the race, for ever annihilated: and a prince, acknowledged and obeyed as such during his life time, who constantly boasted that he never made peace with Elizabeth, but at her own request, after his death treated with all the indignity due to a rebel. But a princess, who could put to death a queen, who only came to seek an asylum in her country, from the rage of her own factious subjects, may well be excused for a slip of this kind.”‡

The English settlers now began to feel a foretaste of the great law of reaction, retaliating on them the persecutions they heaped on the more ancient inhabitants. While in that scandalous act of attainder of O’Neil, full of falsehoods and contradictions, they vented their spleen against the posterity of Milesius, the government struck them on two tender points, their liberty and religion. Several acts were extorted from them, in spite of all opposition, by a mock representation; the act of supremacy, together with the penalties against recusants; the act, vesting

* This confiscation remained a dead letter till the reign of James I. who confiscated Ulster again and planted it.

† This is an acknowledgement, that the right of sovereignty belonged to the name of O’Nial; why else make it treason to assume it? Why abolish the ceremonies of his creation, his authority, jurisdiction, &c? as it would be treason in a subject to take the title of king.

‡ Halleran, introd. to the study of the history and antiquity of Ireland, p. 260.

in the deputy the power of nominating to sees, under English influence, for ten years, consequently, that of appointing apostles of the new faith; an act for erecting free schools, as seminaries for the same purpose. An act, entitled “an act restoring to the crown the auncient jurisdiction over the state, ecclesiasticall and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same,” enacted, that all persons in office, civil or ecclesiastical, under pain of forfeiture thereof, should take the oath of supremacy; confiscation of property, for defeating the unity of the church, the first punishment; the second, a whole year’s imprisonment, without bail or mainprize; the third, high-treason, i. e. one convicted of having undergone the first two punishments for the catholic faith, and of having still continued to defend it by word or writing, to suffer the pains, penalties, and death of a traitor, not as a martyr. The act of uniformity enacted, that any clergyman, refusing to use the Book of Common Prayer, for the first offence, loss of one year’s income, and six month’s imprisonment; for second offence, deprivation of benefice, and one year’s imprisonment; for third offence, imprisonment for life. To despise the Book of Common Prayer, or any thing therein contained; to procure or maintain any person, vicar or minister, in any place, to pray or minister sacraments different therefrom; for first offence, a fine of one hundred marks, if not paid, six months imprisonment; for the second offence, a fine of four hundred marks, if not paid, im-

prisonment for life; for third offence, not only confiscation of property, but imprisonment for life. These are the penalties for saying mass, and for maintaining and succouring a priest. All persons not going to church, and hearing protestant service, fined twelve pence, and subject to ecclesiastical censure; censures however not much dreaded. The protestant clergy and justices of the peace, were empowered to enforce this act; an act, which concludes by empowering the queen to appoint and prescribe other forms and ceremonies, as it may please her highness. Behold a profane woman, clothed with more than pontifical authority, and persecuting catholics with rancorous rage.

These violent acts of usurpation and persecution, were passed in the second year of her reign, under deputy Sussex; and must have been the act of such another packed parliament as that convened in the eleventh. The penalties, inflicted for speaking in favor of the catholic religion, or against her petticoat supremacy in spirituals, against the common-prayer book, were most alarming, as a single false witness might circumvent any man, however guiltless. Besides, might not an enemy, or a professional informer, artfully draw an honest man into conversation on the subject, on which, if he spoke at all, he could scarcely avoid telling his mind.

In the 11th of Elizabeth, and 4th session, the provincial parliament proceed to dispose of Ireland, as if already conquered; yet much remained to be done, to bring it to that state. Divided,

distracted, dismembered, enfeebled, it indisputably was ; yet, if the antient inhabitants could be brought to act in concert, by a sense of their impending destruction, under one leader, they were still too mighty for the settlers, or any force England could spare at that time. The most remarkable act in favour of the new religion passed in the fourth session was, an act, empowering the deputy to present to the dignities of Munster and Connaught, for ten years ; i. e. of appointing protestant pastors to teach catholic flocks ; and we have stated the penalties inflicted for non-attendance on these preachers in an unknown tongue. The act, absolving chieftains from obedience to provincial kings, was in some measure defeated by another act, absolving their inferiors from any duty to them, but making them immediately depend on the crown. The last explained to the chieftains the policy of the first ; and that both were meant to improve on the anarchy of the Milesians, and throw them into irremediable confusion. These acts were as yet on speculation ; nor could they be enforced without the reduction of the whole island, which would and did require a good many years, great effusion of blood, and expenditure of treasure to accomplish. The decrees of the colonial assembly did not hinder the northern Irish to keep possession of their estates, and to fight valiantly, during a long war, in their defence. The abbeys and seminaries still subsisted ; and the three northern bishoprics of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher, were still granted by the pope.

While the old settlers thus indulged their hereditary hatred towards the antient Irish, together with the hope of exterminating them, and getting their properties, severe retaliation came upon them, not only by encroachments on their purses and liberties, and persecution of conscience, but by the overbearing insolence of new adventurers, “Those, whom the revival of the English power in Ireland, had tempted into this kingdom, came with the most unfavourable prejudices against the old natives; whom they were interested to represent (both those of the Irish and the old English race,) as dangerous and disaffected. The natives were provoked at the partiality shewn to these insolent adventurers; they were treated like aliens and enemies, (as the annalist of Elizabeth repeatedly observes,) and excluded with contemptuous insolence from every office of trust and honour.”*

Sir Edward Butler, having become obnoxious to government, by his strenuous opposition to many of their favourite measures, a grant of some of his lands were made to Sir Peter Carew. His claims were resisted, and he was repelled by force of arms. They both complained to the deputy, commissioners were appointed to hear their cause; Butler alleged, that no justice could be expected from his mortal enemy, and disdained to appear before them. The threats and intrigues of Spain, the insurrection of James Fitz-Maurice, made this defiance appear alarm-

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. ii. p. 243.

ing. The claimant of Butler's lands, now commanding Leighlin, was ordered to reduce him, and Carew accepted the commission with alacrity. "He stormed one of his castles and ravaged his lands. At Kilkenny he was informed that a party of the Butlers was collected at some distance from the town. They seem to have assembled implicitly at the command of their leader, as was usual in Ireland, and possibly were not apprised of his delinquency, or of his traiterous designs: for they took their station carelessly and securely, without discovering any intentions of annoying the town. Carew however determined to consider them as rebels; and leading his garrison against them, at one vigorous and unexpected onset put them to flight, and pursued them with terrible execution. Hooker describes his patron, marching with an inconsiderable body, attacking two thousand men, completely armed, and drawn up in military array, killing four hundred of their number, and this without the loss of one man; a circumstance which confutes his account, and shews that the party he attacked neither expected nor were prepared for hostilities: and the author incautiously confesses, that the citizens of Kilkenny were stricken with horror at the carnage, instead of exulting in the defeat of an enemy."

Killed four hundred without the loss of one man!! This was one of the massacres alluded to in Lee's memorial; "that many of this country

* *Leighlin*, Vol. II. B. IV. c. 16. p. 25.

people were invited to a conference near her majesty's garrison, where they were inhumanly butchered." This might have been confounded with the massacre of Mullahmaistin, or there might have been two massacres at that boundary of the Pale and Leix.

In addition to our former, may be added the following reasons, that such a massacre did take place, in the reign of Philip and Mary, viz. the spot of the conference, the boundary of the two territories, which supposes that Leix and Ophaly were not as yet subdued. 2dly, The easy and rapid reduction of the two territories; which would not have been the case, if the leaders in war and counsel had not been cut off. 3dly, The actual colonization of the two districts, and the change of their names into that of King and Queen's county; and of their chief towns into Philipstown and Maryborough. 4thly, The no necessity of bringing a conference to the boundaries of the antient Pale, when the boundaries of the enlarged Pale were more suitable to the negotiators. 5thly, The improbability, that four hundred unarmed gentlemen would venture through their antient patrimony, now in possession of the enemy, so far as the alleged place of conference. 6thly, Four hundred gentlemen, of lead and rank, would form the sum of such an extent of landed proprietors, before their subjugation. 7thly, Queen Elizabeth bore no such love to her sister and brother-in-law, as to dedicate the conquest and colonization of their territories to their names. 8thly, As in the case of the north,

when the confiscation thereof, under Elizabeth, could not be enforced, there was a fresh act of confiscation issued by James; so if the conquest and colonization had not been completed under Philip and Mary, the act of confiscation would be renewed by Elizabeth, on the final subjugation of the proprietors. As no such act passed, Elizabeth appears to have no claim to the massacre or conquest. She killed a Hessian for herself; had massacres enough of her own. Before the conquest of O'Moore and O'Connor, such a perfidious transaction might appear expedient or necessary, to the unrestrained policy of the invaders; after the conquest, it was superfluous.

In perusing the records of this blood-stained period, the unreflecting are liable to be misled, by the false colourings, forgeries, and misrepresentations of partial historians; nor do Cambden, Hooker, or Cox, throw fair light on the subject. We are told of the rebellions of Desmond, Butler and Lixnaw, but they do not inform us of the oppressions that provoked them. Whoever peruses the penalties* decreed on the exercise of the catholic religion, and on nonconformity to Elizabeth's new creed and ritual; the inflexible tyranny with which she and her officers inflicted them; the attack on the privileges of peers and commons; the rewards, held out from confiscated lands, for officers; the contempt and hatred of these new comers towards the old settlers, as papists and Irish, retaliating on them, what they

* See Appendix.

had done to the aboriginal inhabitants, will see abundant cause of insurrection. Infinitely short of these, were the provocations or apprehensions, that made English protestants rise against a popish king.

James Fitz-Maurice invested Kilkenny; which unable to take, he ravaged the country. He treated with some of the Irish chieftains; dispatched messengers to Rome and Spain, solliciting aid against the heretical, tyrannical persecutress of the faith. Fitz-Maurice soon found himself deserted by all those chieftains, who professed to espouse the cause. O'Brien fled at the first commencement of hostilities into France, where, by the mediation of Norris, the English ambassador, he obtained terms. Mac Carthy submitted. Tirlough Lynough, a feeble prince, partly a creature of English government, made some movements, took into his pay one thousand Scotch, and seemed to threaten the borders of the Pale. An accidental wound spread confusion through his camp; where all was bustle, canvassing for a successor to the chieftainry. The Scotch, receiving neither pay or plunder, dispersed; and the old chieftain was obliged to submit. Fitz-Maurice was obliged to fly before the queen's forces, to secret haunts, while the deputy proceeded through south and west Munster, terrifying the disaffected, receiving submission and auxiliaries from many of the most considerable in rank and fortune.

Sir John Perrot was appointed president of Munster, to carry on the war against Desmond.

He pursued the rebels vigorously, storming their castles, and chasing them from their haunts, without respite, until Fitz-Maurice, with some of his adherents, worn out with fatigue, toil and terror, were compelled to throw themselves at his feet. The inferior leaders in the insurrection were instantly executed, while Desmond was reserved for the queen's disposal. Thence he proceeded to subjugate the rest of Munster, by all the means of terror. The success of the queen's arms allowed Sydney to return to England, leaving the government in the hands of his brother Sir William Fitz-William.

Speculations now began to be formed in England, for obtaining estates in Ireland; and planting them with Englishmen. Sir Thomas Smyth, secretary to the queen, conceived the design of providing for his natural son, by a grant of Irish lands. A peninsula, called Ardes, in the east part of Ulster, from its situation easily defended, was assigned for the colony, which was accordingly conveyed thither; but the leader, Smyth, being slain by one of the proprietors, an O'Nial, the project was abandoned. The earl of Essex formed the plan of a more powerful and extensive colony. On the report of some commotions in Clanhuboy, he offered his services for reducing that district, and planting it with English settlers. It was settled, that he should possess a moiety of the plantation; that one thousand two hundred forces should be maintained, and fortifications raised, at the joint expence of the queen and earl. Four hundred

acres of land for every horseman, and two hundred for every footman, at two pence per acre, invited volunteers for the expedition; and the plantation was to be continued until two thousand English families were settled in it. Essex mortgaged his estate to the queen for ten thousand pounds; the lords Dacre and Rich, Sir Henry Knowles, and his four brothers, three sons of lord Norris, and other Englishmen of distinction, accompanied him. The favorite, Leicester, (for virgin Elizabeth, like virgin Catherine II. of Russia, had a succession of favorites,) secretly thwarted the newly-created earl, in conjunction with deputy Fitz-William. The expedition was too long delayed; the queen's soldiers ill-chosen and ineffective; their provisions tardily supplied and unsound. When the earl landed with his troops, the northern Irish were apprized and prepared for him. Brian Mac Phelim O'Nial, Hugh, son to the earl of Dunganon, and Tirlough Lynough, united against him, and harassed his forces by perpetual skirmishes. His noble associates quickly repented of their engagements, in an enterprize so unpromising; and under one pretence or another, withdrew one by one to their native country. Essex pathetically represented his situation to the queen, when his enemies found new pretences of detaining him in Ireland.

Representations were sent over from Ireland, stating the country to be every where in commotion. The remnant of the O'Moores were turbulent. Brian Mac Murchad took arms, and

defeated the Wexfordians. The sons of Clanrickard were in arms. The earl of Desmond, and his brother found means to escape to their territory, where they were received with exultation by their followers, breathing vengeance for the severities they had endured. To encrease the alarm, letters from Rome had been intercepted, exhorting the Irish to hold out against the queen's government; with an assurance of a supply of money and troops, and absolution to themselves and posterity to the third generation. These causes of alarm, whether real, feigned or aggravated, persuaded the queen to command the stay of Essex in Ireland, for assisting the deputy against her enemies. 'Tis likely also,

Brian Mac Murchad was easily persuaded to lay down his arms, by a simple act of justice. The sons of Clanrickard were reduced and pardoned; their insurrection having been compelled by the tyranny of president Fitton; who was, on their complaints being found true, dismissed from the presidency of Connaught. Desmond, vigorously pursued by Essex and Kildare, was obliged to renew his submission and allegiance. Essex now returned to the prosecution of his schemes in Ulster; where he attempted to execute his project of plantation of English, unfractured by the least infusion of Irish degeneracy. On the conclusion of a peace he invited Brian O'Neill of Clanahuby, with a great number of his relations, to an entertainment, where they lived together in great harmony, making good cheer for three days and nights; when, on a

sudden, O'Neal was surprised with an arrest, together with his brother and wife, by the earl's order. His friends were put to the sword before his face; nor were the women and children spared, he was himself, with his brother and wife, sent to Dublin, where they were cut in quarters." The annalist observes, that "this increased the disaffection, and produced the detestation of all the Irish: for this chieftain of Clanhuboy, was the senior of his family, and as he had been universally esteemed, he was now as universally regretted."* It seems, however, the perfidious butchery of his guests availed him nought; for the turbulence and perfidiousness of the Irish, "and the insidious practices of Leicester and his partizans, involved him in a series of perplexities. When he had been wearied into a resignation of his authority, he was commanded to resume it: when he had resumed it, and for a while proceeded with success, he was again ordered to resign it. When he had at length obtained permission to return to England, he was again reminded into Ireland, with the insignificant title of earl marshal of this country. Here vexation and disappointment soon put an end to his life, which involved Leicester in the suspicion of having caused this unhappy nobleman to be poisoned: a suspicion which he himself increased by hastily marrying the countess of Essex."† Strange language! to call the defence of liberty, religion and property, against barba-

* Annals of Danagall, M. S.

† Ireland, Vol. II. Book VI. c. ii. p. 258.

rous, perfidious, inhuman invaders of all these most valuable blessings of life, perfidy and turbulence ! But we must make some allowance for the splenetic humours of an English or Anglo-Irish writer, treating of mere native Irish, and their affairs.

Sir William Fitz-William, weary of the public hatred he had incurred, and of the complicated difficulties he involved himself in, desired his recal. He was replaced by Sir Henry Sydney, whose reluctance to accept the office was overcome by the communication of extensive powers ; and the promise of an annual remittance of twenty thousand pounds, in aid of the ordinary revenues of Ireland. On his landing in 1570, a plague, raging in the Pale, prevented his approach to the capital ; and the turbulence of the Scotch settlers in the north, who had made hostile attempts on the garrison of Carrigfergus, determined him to march to Ulster. He marched through Ulster and Connaught, at the head of six hundred men, without the least molestation ; composing petty broils, and receiving assurances of unity towards the English government. The earl of Clarendon's sons alone, remained to break out into fresh extravagances after his departure. On his returning quickly, they fled to the woods ; their castles were taken, and their father, suspected of favouring their rebellion, was committed to close custody. For the good government of the south, he prevailed on the queen to appoint Sir Edward Drury, president of Munster, in the room of Perrot, returned to England. Like his pre-

decessor, he held his courts regularly, administered justice impartially, enforced a strict observance of English manners, and a dutiful submission to English law. So Leland.

The county of Kerry, made palatine for the Desmond family by Edward III., was now the only refuge for fugitives in Munster. Thither Drury resolved to extend his jurisdiction, regardless of antient patents. Desmond, finding the president obstinate in his purpose, reserved himself for an appeal to the deputy, receiving Drury in the mean time with all honor and submission, inviting him to his house in Tralce. “The invitation was accepted; when on the arrival of Drury with a train of a hundred and twenty men in arms, a body of seven hundred followers of Desmond, tall, active, and vigorous, appeared at some distance, and advanced upon him. The president, unacquainted with the customs of this district, and filled with the suspicions and jealous prejudices of an English stranger, at once concluded that he had been betrayed, and was to be surrounded and cut to pieces. He encouraged his followers, to prevent this formidable enemy, and to charge them without waiting to be attacked. The first onset at once dispersed the Desmonians; who, without attempting the least hostility, fled with the utmost astonishment and precipitation: and the countess of Desmond was left to explain this extraordinary incident. She assured the president that these men neither intended nor expected hostilities; that their flight was not the effect of

cowardice, but amazement and confusion at being treated as enemies, when they had assembled peaceably to do him honour; that they had been collected by her lord merely to entertain him with hunting, in which the men of Kerry were remarkably expert and vigorous. Drury affected to be satisfied with this explanation; and proceeded to execute the laws within the liberties of the earl of Desmond, without controul or opposition.”*

The English interest being now established in Munster and Connaught, the deputy bethought himself of a scheme to recommend himself to the favor of his English masters. The heavy charge of maintaining the English power in Ireland, instead of deriving any emolument therefrom was a subject of constant complaint in England; nor could any service be performed more acceptable to them, than the alleviation of the burden. For the maintenance of the royal garrison, and the governor's household, certain assessments were laid on the English districts, settled by the consent of the principal inhabitants of each. Sydney designed to change the occasional subsidy into permanent revenue, by substituting a composition instead of the assessment, and exacting it from all the subjects. His court encouraged him to pursue his plan. He first began, by proclamation, to dissolve those liberties which had ever claimed an exemption from the antient charge of purveyance; or to curtail the privi-

* Leland, Vol. II. Book VI. c. ii. p. 262.

leges of those whose legality could not be impeached; and then proceeded to a general imposition of the new tax, by mere authority of council, and by virtue of the queen's prerogative. A general and violent discontent was the immediate consequence. Those, whose liberties were invaded; those who cheerfully contributed to the assessment in its former mode; the secretly disaffected, and the loyal, were provoked at a tax, so unconstitutional and oppressive, and united in a spirited remonstrance to the deputy and council. Sydney, after a deliberation of some days, replied, that, as to the liberties dissolved, they appeared to be invalid or expired; as to the burden of the tax, her majesty was contented, that it should not exceed five months for every plough land; as to its authority, it was imposed by the queen's prerogative. So novel, and so repugnant to every principle of law and justice, did this doctrine of raising money by prerogative appear, to the subjects of Ireland; so confident were the remonstrants in the validity of their plea, that they humbly besought the deputy's permission to repair to the court of England, and there lay their cause before the queen. Sydney coldly replied, that he would neither sanction, nor yet restrain their appeal.

“Opposition, in a cause so popular, gained daily accessions of strength, and was animated by the public applause: the principal lords through all parts of the realm refused obedience to the edict of council, and enjoined their tenants and dependents by no means to pay the assess-

ment. The inhabitants of the Pale assembled, deliberated, and at length resolved to entrust their cause to three agents, eminent for their knowledge of the laws, and zealous opposers of the present tax. They were sent into England with letters to the queen and to the English council, signed by the lords Baltinglass, Delvin, Hoath, Trimbleston, Bellew, Nangle, some of the families of Plunket and Nugent, with other distinguished inhabitants of the counties of Meath and Dublin, in the names of all the subjects of the English Pale. They complained of the grievance they sustained by the tax, and that they had been denied redress by the lord deputy; they urged the illegality and oppressive burden of the tax, and the various abuses committed in the exaction of it.* But this genuine daughter of Henry resolved on maintaining prerogative. The Irish agents were committed to the Fleet, as contumacious opposers of the royal authority. The queen's letters to Sir Sydney and the Irish council, reprimanded them for not having instantly committed and punished these refractory subjects, who durst deny the legality of the composition; commanding, that all, who superscribed the present application to the throne, should be summoned before them; and if they should persist in their opposition, should be committed to close imprisonment; that all her servants and counsellors, learned in the law, who had neglected to maintain her prerogative,

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. ii. p. 263.

should be removed from their offices. All these severities proved insufficient to operate on the lords and gentlemen of the Pale. “ They appeared before the council, and there, peremptorily adhering to their former declarations, and denying the legality of any tax not regularly established in parliament, were committed to close durance in the castle of Dublin. Their agents in England on a second examination appeared equally determined; and therefore were removed from the Fleet to the Tower; which implied that their offence was considered as of a treasonable nature. The whole body of Irish subjects were alarmed and confounded at this rigour, which they imputed to the practices of Sydney, and whom of consequence they loaded with the most virulent invectives. Their clamours were so violent, as even to startle the arbitrary queen and her obsequious counsellors. They dreaded the consequence of a general discontent in a country which harboured so many secret enemies to government, and therefore closed their imperious denunciations of vengeance by accepting an equivocal submission from the Irish agents, who acknowledged that the manner of their application had been undutiful, but disavowed all intention of impeaching the queen’s just prerogative. They gave security to render themselves before the lord deputy, and were remitted to Ireland. Here they repeated their submission, and were dismissed: some of the confined lords and gentlemen regained their liberty by a like submission. Nor were the more

spirited and obstinate broken by any further severity. Sydney was instructed to bring this violent and dangerous dispute to some speedy accommodation:* a composition for purveyance was by the deputy and council, with the concurrence of the lords and gentlemen of the Pale, settled for seven years; and the malecontents were discharged. All the rage of indignation and resentment fell on the lord deputy. He was accused of wantonly alienating the affections of the Irish subjects; of ruling without temper, policy, or discretion; of lavishing the revenue; of discouraging and despising the well-affected; of carelessly or corruptly pardoning the most notorious rebels and offenders. Nor was Sydney insensible to the sting of popular odium. He grew weary of a government, in which every act of administration was strictly scrutinized, and severely interpreted; and made pressing instances to the queen, that she would be pleased to recal him.'†

History is the best refutation of those ignorant bigots, who assert, without authority or reason, that papists are unfit for freedom. The spirited defence of their constitutional rights, and opposition to arbitrary government, made at sundry times, as well as the present, has been at no time equalled by the protestant Pale that succeeded it.

The conclusion of this dispute is only to be

* This appears from a letter written by the English council to the lords justices of Ireland, dated April 30, 1584.

† Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. ii. p. 265.

explained by the apprehension of foreign enemies. The assistance, given by Elizabeth to the revolted Netherlands, naturally pointed out Ireland to Philip, as a proper scene for retaliation. At Rome, every fugitive, who could suggest any scheme of annoying the persecutress of the catholic faith, was favourably received. Of this sort was an English adventurer, Thomas Stukely, whose enterprising genius had raised him to some notice in Ireland, and even gained him the attention of deputy Sydney. He arrived at Rome, the center of conspiracy against Elizabeth, was well received by the Irish ecclesiastics, and introduced to the pope, as a distinguished friend to the catholic cause. With pope Pius V. his project did not succeed, but his successor, Gregory XIII. listened more attentively to his plans, artfully hinting the facility with which his nephew, Jacomo Boncompagno, might be established king of Ireland. The ambitious old man received the overture with delight, practised with Spain, amused Philip with the hope of burning the English fleet, by the address and valor of Stukely, and of expelling Elizabeth from all her dominions, by first beginning with the invasion of Ireland. Eight hundred Italians were raised for this expedition, commanded by Stukely, in the pay of Philip. Another Irish exile meditated a descent on his country. Fitz-Maurice, after his liberation from prison, subsequent to his reduction by Perrot, retired to the continent, thirsting for revenge. His solicitations at the court of France, after two years

expectations and disappointment, proving fruitless, he next applied to Spain, where he was received with more attention. "Philip sent him to the pope; Gregory was readily prevailed on by Saunders the famous ecclesiastic, and Allen, an Irish priest, to favour his design of an invasion. A bull was drawn up addressed to the prelates, princes, nobles, and people of Ireland, exhorting them to assist Fitz-Maurice for the recovery of their liberty, and the defence of the holy church; and promising to all his adherents the same spiritual indulgences granted to those who fought against the Turks: a banner was solemnly consecrated and delivered to this champion of the faith: and as Saunders and Allen both consented to attend Fitz-Maurice into Ireland, the former was invested with the dignity of legate. The conspirators thus strengthened by the authority and benediction of the holy father, and furnished with some money, were sent to king Philip, who was to supply the forces necessary for their enterprize."*

Elizabeth, informed of these designs, prepared forces for the Irish service, by sea and by land. Her ships were stationed to guard the Irish coast, and Sydney had orders to quell by lenity and conciliation every remains of commotion in Ireland. Stukely embarked at Civita Vecchia, and arrived at the mouth of the Tagus, when Don Sebastian was invited to Africa by Mohammed, son of Abdalla, king of Fez. On explain-

* Ireland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. II. s. 28.

ing his design, the king pressed him first to join in his African expedition; promising, on his return to attend him into Ireland. The king of Spain, having discovered the pontiff's intentions in favour of his nephew, readily consented. Stukely, with his Italians, followed the standard of Portugal, and fell with Sebastian. The death of king Sebastian diverted the Spaniard from his design against Elizabeth to the invasion of Portugal.

Though Philip renounced the design of conquering the British islands, he was still inclined to annoy Elizabeth by insurrections. Fitz-Maurice therefore, on his return to Spain, though he could not obtain an efficient force, was not entirely unnoticed. He obtained a troop of about fourscore Spaniards; to whom, uniting some fugitive English and Irish, he embarked his little force in three ships, and landed in Kerry, at a bay called Smerwick. Saunders and Allen hallowed the place, and assured the invaders of success in the glorious cause of the church. Their transports, cut off by a ship of war, that lay in the harbour of Kinsale, left them destitute of relief or retreat. On their first summons, Sir John and Sir James, brothers to the earl of Desmond, joined them with their followers. The earl himself, acting for the present on the reserve, made a shew of loyalty, by mustering his forces, and summoning the earl of Clancarthy to his assistance; who, impatient of his tergiversation, retired in disgust. Fitz-Maurice could not suppress his vexation at so great a disappoint-

ment; rightly judging that the temporizing half measures of the earl would ruin the enterprize, and the family of Desmond in its consequences. He even hinted a suspicion, that Sir John Desmond was capable of betraying his associates, to purchase his own safety. John, stung with this reproach, resolved to efface all suspicion, by a decided act of hostility against the government.

Henry Davels, an officer in the English service, intimate with the Geraldines of south Munster, was sent to reconnoitre the position and strength of the invaders, and to sound the earl of Desmond, and his kindred associates, as to the part they meant to espouse. On his return to the deputy with all the necessary information as to the dispositions and force of the enemy, and the probable disaffection of the Geraldines, Sir John, judging it for the benefit of the cause to deprive government of this mass of intelligence, pursued him with a chosen band, and overtook him at Tralee. There they massacred him and his companions, as one escaping might reveal their situation. Leland works up this massacre into a tragic scene, with such pathetic circumstances as he borrowed from his own imagination; yet such has been the fate of spies in all countries, as soon as they were discovered in their proper character. The foreigners, meanwhile, were impatient to see the vast concourse of discontented Irish, of whose junction they were assured. Fitz-Maurice, no less chagrined, persuaded them to maintain their station, with

promise of powerful support, while he professed a pilgrimage to the holy cross in Tipperary, in consequence of a vow he had made in Spain; under cover of which, he concealed his design of enticing the discontented in Connaught and Ulster to unite with him. His first essay was in the country of the De Burghos, where he seized some carriage horses necessary for his train. Sir William de Burgho, head of the neighbouring sept, reclaimed them. In a scuffle that ensued, Fitz-Maurice, and one of the sons of Mac William, fell by each other's swords. Of such consequence the death of Fitz-Maurice appeared to the queen, that she wrote a letter of acknowledgement to de Burgho, and soon afterwards created him a peer. Sir William Drury marched with the forces of government to meet the insurgents, and from Kilmallock summoned the lords and gentlemen of Munster to join him with their followers. They readily obeyed; Even Desmond, with a well appointed company of horse and foot, attended his standard. Yet such were the suspicions entertained of him, or so greedy were the recent adventurers for his immense property, and so desirous, at all hazards, to involve him in rebellion, that he was committed to custody. After he was liberated, on promise of loyalty and fidelity, this severity so wrought on his fears, that he retired from the camp; and though he still professed his attachment to the crown, and his son was an hostage for his good conduct, he declined attending the deputy. Hitherto Desmond had given no proofs

of a rebellious disposition. His declining the task of making war on his brothers, such of his kindred, and their followers, as took up arms in defence of their country and religion, might rest on other motives. The cause was popular, and he might be deserted by his vassals; an instance of which we shall see in the young branch of this family, tutored in Bess's religion, and sent to Ireland; who, on discovery of the same, was treated with the utmost scorn and abhorrence. The grievances of which he complained, might be of such a nature as to cool his loyalty and attachment to a persecuting queen. If the earl of Desmond meditated war, and was really implicated in this insurrection, he was one of the weakest of men. He had made no provisions or preparations for the hazardous conflict. He had not armed or trained his followers; nor put his castles in a state of siege. He had not procured ammunition or ordnance for the service; nor secured any firm alliance or partizans. Had he really embarked early in the enterprize, his foreign and domestic correspondence could hardly have eluded the vigilance of Bess's emissaries, and his consciousness of this would have induced him to espouse the cause immediately, with all his resources. As for papers, found on a dead man, by people thirsting for the dividends of immense property, they must appear to every considerate person very suspicious evidence. As for the cause of this local insurrection; if the revolution of 1689 was justifiable, the Irish insurrections against Elizabeth were much more

so. The one was suspected of a design to restore the catholic religion, without persecuting the protestant: the other openly and furiously persecuted the catholic, the national and established religion of Ireland, which she endeavoured to hide under the mask of punishment for state crimes. She at once invaded their civil and religious liberties; and if ever resistance be lawful, which none but the slavish abettors of passive obedience will deny, it was against such atrocious tyranny.

After the death of Fitz-Maurice, the foreigners had no other resource, but to submit to the guidance of Sir John Desmond. They abandoned their station at Smerwick; and in order to evade this rencounter of superior forces, were distributed in different quarters in Kerry. The insurgents now held on the defensive; and nine weeks were spent to no purpose, endeavouring to come up with Sir John; who hovered about the royal army, and kept them in continual alarm, without suffering them to attack him. A party of two hundred, who attempted to surprise one of his detachments, was cut to pieces on their return. Such petty advantages revived the hopes of the insurgents, and increased their numbers. Drury, on the other hand, had his losses seasonably repaired, by a reinforcement of six hundred men from England, while Perrot was stationed on the coast, with ships of war, to cut off all assistance from the rebels. The deputy, sick of fatigue, retired to Wexford in a languishing state, committing the army to Sir

Nicholas Malby. Hearing that Sir John Desmond lay encamped within a few miles of Limerick, Malby marched to attack him. In a plain, adjoining to an old abbey, called Monaster Neva, he found the forces of Sir John in array, prepared to give battle; and their attack was so vigorous, and so obstinately maintained, that the fortune of the day seemed a long time doubtful. The good fortune of the English at length prevailed. Desmond's forces were routed, and pursued with great slaughter.

After this victory, the earl of Desmond sent a gratulatory epistle to the English general, which was received as a dissimulation of his rebellious disposition, and he was ordered to surrender and renew his promise of fealty. But, mindful of the insulting severities with which he was treated, when he joined the English army in the beginning of the campaign, he refused to put himself in the power of any of the queen's officers. Hereupon Malby removed to Rathkeale, a town belonging to the earl, either to terrify him into absolute submission, or what is more probable, to goad him to resistance, in the expectation of sharing a dividend of his vast estate. Desmond was provoked, by this unwarrantable attack on his territory, to make a night attack on the English camp. Malby thereupon was preparing to reduce his castles, when the intelligence of Drury's death put an end to his authority; so, distributing his forces into garrisons, he retired to his government of Connaught.

While the Desmonians exulted in this suspension of hostilities, and were annoying the English garrisons, the council chose Sir William Pelham provisional deputy, who proceeded without delay to renew the war in Munster. There he was powerfully reinforced, and sent the earl of Ormond to the earl of Desmond, commanding him to surrender, and acquainting him with the terms on which his submission would be accepted. He must surrender Dr. Saunders, and the other strangers harboured in the country; one of his castles, either Askeaton or Carrick-a-Foyle, must be delivered to the queen, as a pledge of his future conduct; and submit to the judgment of her majesty and council of England, or to that of the deputy and Irish council; and meanwhile give assistance in the present war, against his brethren, and all other traitors. His answer was, a complaint of injuries. He was thereupon proclaimed a traitor, if within twenty days he did not submit. The earl's territory was purposely made the seat of war, and exposed to the ravages of a necessitous, licentious, and blood-thirsty soldiery. In revenge, Desmond and his brother appeared before the town of Youghal, which they took, and cut off a detachment sent by Ormond for its succour. Flattened by this success, the Geraldines declare themselves the champions of the catholic faith, in alliance with the holy see, and the king of Spain, inviting the faithful to join in defence of their hearths and altars; in defence of their lives, liberties and properties; in defence of what

should be dearer than all earthly considerations, their holy religion, their hope of a happy immortality, to resist a persecution more cruel and perfidious than any recorded in the annals of heathen persecution. This invitation had little effect, on a nation incurably rent by family quarrels, local claims, and national antipathies. They felt the force of the appeal; and, though they shrunk at present from the call of nature's rights, they all successively, and therefore unsuccessfully, had recourse to arms, in defence of their rights. Saunders's letters to de Burgho were delivered to Sir Nicholas Malby, and served to discover the views and hopes of the insurgents. In the Pale their applications were more favourably received. Several of the English, as well as the old Irish race, were goaded by persecutions to declare openly for the national faith.

During this time, Desmond, who had been wholly unprepared for war, saw his vast patrimony wasted with fire and sword; the unarmed defenceless population mowed down with indiscriminate slaughter; such as escaped the sword, a prey to the still more horrible doom of famine. himself hunted, like an abject outlaw, from one retreat to another, unable to meet the enemy in the field, and confined to nightly excursions. Several of his vassals, hearing that admiral Winter was on the coast, and had come on board to execute martial law, fled to him for protection, which they extorted from the tar, by the piteous representation of their calamities.

“ Which the soldiers,” saith Hooker with a shocking indifference, “ did very much mislike, “ the same, to be somewhat prejudicial to her “ majesty’s service, because they persuaded “ themselves, that if they had followed the course “ which they began, they should either have taken “ or slain them all.” Such was the temper of this man, who could express regret at a little mercy shewn to wretches who scarcely knew any duty but that of implicit obedience to their lords ! when at the time that their lives were spared, they were frequently bereft of all means of support ; and when their cattle had been seized, he assures us, that they were seen following the army with their wives and children, and begging that all might be rescued from their miseries by the sword, rather than thus condemned to waste by famine.”*

From these circumstances it is evident, either that Desmond was an idiot, or was forced into hostilities unprepared, and in spite of himself. That his brethren, aided by many of his followers, revolted, makes no positive proof of his consent to an undertaking so popular. We have seen, that lord Thomas Fitzgerald revolted, in spite of the remonstrances of his uncles ; and that the earl of Ormond’s brothers drew his followers into a revolt, which he quelled, more by his personal influence over his brethren, and the weight of his arguments, than by his authority, as head of the Butlers.

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. ii. p. 278.

The preparations for defence, being confined to the parts of the county of Kerry where his brother's influence chiefly prevailed, and the defenceless state of his own immediate domain, render his participation in the plot of insurrection very improbable. His greatest crime consisted in his attachment to the catholic faith, his support of catholic seminaries and catholic clergymen, and his princely domain, which would reward adventuring converts to the new gospel. Nothing like war occurs in this butchery of a defenceless people, except the sieges of a few forts, defended by small garrisons. The castle of Carrick-a-Foyle was defended by fifty Irish and nineteen Spaniards, commanded by an Italian officer, named Julio. After a brave resistance it was taken, the garrison was put to the sword, except a few, among whom was the commanding officer, reserved to be hanged, in 1580. Most probably they were hung in sight of one of Desmond's forts; for the little garrisons of the other castles, terrified by these barbarities, and seeing that the laws of civilized warfare were not to be observed toward them; that neither treaty nor capitulation afforded security, abandoned their posts. In this abject situation, Desmond, his countess, with a few faithful followers, lived in constant terror and distress. Sir James, one of his brothers, was surprised and executed. As usual with the unfortunate, he and his brother John, came to mutual reproaches. The countess in vain fell upon her knees, and petitioned with tears, that her husband should

be received to mercy. His force, as a rebel, was now too inconsiderable, and his possessions to be forfeited were of too princely an extent, for the queen's ministers to admit of pardon or submission. Even his offer of surrender to admiral Winter, on condition of being conveyed prisoner to England, there to supplicate the royal mercy, at the foot of the throne, was rejected. In their now desponding situation, a gleam of hope seemed to draw on the southern insurgents. The justice was suddenly recalled from the south, by the arrival of Arthur, lord Grey, his successor; leaving the Munster army, of about three thousand, to the command of Bouchier, earl of Bath.

Grey, who was instructed, among other particulars, to shorten the Irish wars by a vigorous prosecution, hearing of an encampment of insurgents at Gleandalough, formed by O'Byrne and lord Baltinglass, grew impatient to signalize his zeal. Fraught with contempt of the Irish, like the rest of his countrymen, inexperienced in their mode of warfare, he peremptorily commanded all the officers to collect their companies, and drive these rebels from their retreats. "They were to enter a steep and marshy valley, perplexed with rocks, and winding irregularly through hills thickly wooded. As they advanced, they found themselves more and more encumbered; and either sunk into the yielding soil, so as to be utterly incapable of action, or were obliged to clamber over rocks which disordered their march. In the midst of confusion and distress, a sudden

volley from the woods was poured in upon them, without any appearance of an enemy; and repeated with terrible execution. Soldiers and officers fell, without any fair opportunity of signaling their valour. Audley, Moore, Cosby, and Sir Peter Carew, all distinguished officers, were slain in this rash adventure. George Carew, the younger brother, was restrained from following his companions by his uncle Wingfield, master of the Ordnance, and thus reserved for nobler service. Lord Grey, who had waited the event upon a neighbouring eminence, returned, with the remains of his forces, to the seat of government, covered with confusion and dishonour.”* Sir Robert Walpole, in our own memory, paid dearly for a similar precipitation and contempt of an Irish enemy. This check was succeeded by an alarm from the south. Seven hundred Spaniards and Italians had made good their landing at Smerwick. They brought arms and ammunition for five thousand men, and a large sum of money, which they were ordered to deliver to Desmond, his brother John, and Dr. Saunders.

The earl of Ormond, now commanding in Munster, on the first alarm of the descent, marched to oppose the invaders; who at his approach, sought shelter in a neighbouring wood; but, on learning that his force was not as great as they first imagined, their commander, with about 300 of his men, returned to their origi-

* Ireland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. ii. p. 280

nal stations, whence a successful sortie forced Ormond to retreat to Rathkeale, and await the arrival of the deputy Grey, who led 800 men from Dublin, which united to the 3000 left by Pelham, in Munster, formed a force very superior to the invaders, and what was of no less moment, admiral Winter resumed his station off the coast, to co-operate with the deputy. The fort was thus invested by sea and land, and the garrison summoned to surrender, to declare who they were, for what purpose sent, and why presume to fortify themselves in the queen's dominions. They answered that they were sent by the pope and the king of Spain, to extirpate heresy, and to reduce the land to the obedience of king Philip, who was vested by the holy father with the sovereignty of Ireland. This answer was seconded by a vigorous sortie, in which they were repulsed. The very next night, Winter landed the artillery from his ships, and cutting through a bank, which lay between the shore and the coast, drew up his cannon, and completed his battery by the dawn of day, while Grey made the like preparations on the landside. The fort was now again summoned, but the foreigners, unacquainted with their danger, or the nature of their enemy, boldly replied, that they would maintain their posts, and endeavour to extend their acquisitions. In fine, the garrison, say the Pale writers, fatally surrendered at discretion; and after surrendering their arms, a company of English was sent into the fort, who killed them all in cold blood, except some reserved to be

hanged from the battlements, in terror to their Irish allies, now coming within sight. Fatal indeed such a cowardly surrender was, if proved true. By the opposite party it was represented as a perfidious and an inhuman violation of a solemn treaty, whereby Grey had engaged by oath to permit the foreigners to depart unmolested, with all the honors of war. This is the more probable account, for we read of no practicable breach as yet for an assault, no lodgment, nor attempt to take it by storm. The besieged expected, and the besiegers dreaded, the speedy arrival of an Irish force, perhaps succours from Spain, to raise the siege. The law of honor obliged the garrison to hold out as long as possible; policy dictated to the besiegers, to obtain a speedy surrender of the fort on any terms; an advantage, which promises, treaties and oaths would not be spared to acquire. The murderers furnish some proofs against themselves. First, an Italian, the commander, determined to capitulate, contrary to the opinion of his officers. Now if the officers opposed capitulation, considering the fort as yet tenable, how much more would they oppose a cowardly surrender at discretion, not justified by any cogent necessity. Secondly, If the number was too formidable to be made prisoners, and the Irish were approaching in a body of one thousand five hundred men, how much more formidable must they not appear armed, and in possession of the fort, when their Irish allies came in view; especially as the haughty

Englishman had been taught, in his signal defeat by O'Byrne, at Glendalough, no longer to despise an Irish force? His fears, no doubt, prompted the threatening language he held to the garrison, for none threaten so hard as cowards; their Irish allies were said to be cut off; no succours from Spain; the coasts guarded by English fleets; if taken by assault, no quarters to be given. Splendid promises gained over the commander-in-chief and a few others, honourable terms promised to all, for the surrender so eagerly panted for by Grey. With whatever pretences or professions they endeavoured to cloak their hellish deed, it "could not efface the odiousness of this action; on the continent it was received with horror."* That the deputy Grey was a monster fitted for so foul a treason, we have the best authority, that of Elizabeth's counsel and agents, "Repeated complaints were made of the inhuman rigor practiced by this deputy and his officers; the queen was assured, that he tyrannized with such barbarity, that little was left in Ireland for her majesty to reign over, but ashes and dead carcasses."† To which she replied, in the strain of crocodile pity, "Alas! I fear it will be said of me, as Bato said to Tiberius, You, you it is that are in fault, who have committed your flocks not to shepherds but to wolves."

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. ii. p. 283.

† Ib. p. 287.

The invasion being thus disposed of, and the affairs of Munster quieted for the present, Zouch was appointed governor of Kerry, Sir Walter Raleigh commandant of Cork, and lord Grey returned to Leinster, to oppose the progress of lord Baltinglass and his allies, daily becoming more formidable. Tutored, however, by his first campaign at Glendalough, he declined the dangerous honor of encountering O'Byrn in his glens or mountains; but, leaving that task to other commanders, occupied himself in detecting a fabricated conspiracy, pretended to be formed in the seat of government, by the principal inhabitants of the Pale. That the earl of Kildare had engaged to seize on the castle of Dublin; and that others, both of the English and Irish, were joined in the confederacy; that it was discovered by the wife of one of the associates, prompted by jealousy to open his letters. Camden took up the tale, stating, "that the principal families of English blood in Leinster, partly from affection to the Romish religion and its ministers, who were sore persecuted; partly out of hatred to the new-come English," who gave them like measure as they gave unto the aborigines, excluding them, like mere Irish, from every office of government and magistracy," had "conspired to seize on the deputy and the castle by surprize, where all provisions necessary for war were deposited, and to put every Englishman in Ireland to the sword." This last circumstance robs the tale of any degree of credibility. Hooker, a cotemporary writer, resident and employed in Ireland, and no

way partial to the old English, takes no notice of this formidable conspiracy; but slightly mentions a design on the deputy's person. Lord Grey was a true pupil of the prevailing system of policy and religion in the court of London; and, seeing the great advantages, both for power and wealth, accruing to his masters from the fabrication of plots, he resolved to copy their example. Rumours were circulated; and he procured alarming information to be sent to him. Several were seized, and some were executed; of whom the most distinguished was Nugent, baron of the Exchequer, a man of singular good life and reputation, who persevered in asserting his innocence, though he had assurance of pardon if he would confess his guilt and disclose the plot. The earl of Kildare and lord Delvin were on suspicion committed to the custody of Wingfield, master of the ordinance. Lord Henry, the earl's son, took refuge among his fosterers in O'Faly, who declared they would protect him against the malice of his enemies, and were ready to rise in arms. After repeated efforts to prevail upon them to surrender him, they at length agreed to resign him to the earl of Ormond. What a contrast, this noble generosity towards a fugitive of an implacable hostile race of exterminators, and the murderous banquets and murderous negotiations of the latter. Together with his father and lord Delvin, he was sent into England, where they were all honourably acquitted. Grey was justly represented as a man of blood, who dishonoured his nation and sovereign among

foreigners, and alienated the hearts of all the Irish, by repeated barbarities.

The English colonists began to receive like measure as they measured to the antient Irish. New adventurers from the same stock, with a new religion, eyed them with the same hatred and contempt, as they did the Milesians, and with a similar longing for their property and blood. “The province of Munster was governed with rigour and severity by the officers stationed in the several districts, who were reinforced by troops sent at different times from England. The distinguished families of the old English race, who still adhered to the popish religion, were naturally suspected of favouring the rebels. They declined furnishing their quotas to the queen’s service; and yet, were seen in arms; for self-defence, as they pretended. And it was the interest of the English officers to represent their conduct in the severest light. If once declared rebels, their lands and property lay at the mercy of their pursuers. Orders were dispatched from Dublin to seize the castle of lord Barry, whose practices had been most obnoxious; but this lord, in the rage of indignation, set fire to his house, rather than abandon it to the rapine of the queen’s soldiers. Roche, another suspected lord, was surprised and seized by Raleigh, and had the miserable satisfaction of approving his innocence and being dismissed.”*

After driving the gentry, both of English and

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. ii. p. 286.

Irish descent, to the extreme of discontent, by arbitrary exaction, and excessive penalties on the score of religion, the troops in Munster were reduced to a small number, to tempt, as it were, their feelings. The baron of Lixnaw, in revenge for the oppressions he had endured from the queen's officers, seized the occasion, and drove out the garrisons that occupied his castles. Soon after, he applied to the earl of Ormond for pardon and protection; the more readily granted, as he made it appear that he was driven to extremities by intolerable oppressions. The queen was so well convinced that such complaints were frequently well founded, that a pardon was offered to such rebels as would accept it. Unfortunate Desmond was excepted from this general pardon, though still entreating for mercy. Hunted from one wretched retreat to another, frequently in danger of being taken; disguised among his wretched followers, lurking with them in bogs; at length, caught alone, in a miserable hut, his head was cut off and sent to Ormond, thence to the queen, who caused it to be impaled on London-bridge. Thus was a family extinguished, which had amassed, from the ruins of the divided Irish, a princely fortune, before the extinction of the antient inhabitants, laid down as a maxim by their relative, Gerald Barry, took place.

The settlers in general were now receiving some prefatory information, of which abundance afterwards, how far the extermination of the antient Irish, or the confiscation of their properties, "strengthen us;" as the Pale parliament,

in its act of attainder against Shane O'Neil, uttered, in the folly of uncalculating selfishness.

Now that the south was pacified, that is, reduced to a wilderness, presenting an hideous scene of famine and desolation, *cum solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant*; a fair opportunity offered, for the pretended civilization of one half of the island, if any scheme of liberal policy was in contemplation. That odious jealousy of this country, which has always disgraced English counsels, prevailed among the counsellors of Elizabeth, and reconciled them to the distractions and miseries of Ireland. "Should we exert ourselves," said they, "in reducing this country to civility, it must soon acquire power, consequence and riches. The inhabitants will be thus alienated from England. They will cast themselves into the arms of some foreign power, or perhaps erect themselves into an independent and separate state. Let us rather connive at (of course foment) their disorders, for a weak and disordered people never can attempt to detach themselves from the crown of England."* A nobleman of rank in the present government held similar language to me at Ratisbon, as we conversed on Irish affairs. Unfortunately this abominable policy remains not confined to theory, but is and has been systematically persevered in. If weakness and disorder be their infallible recipe for preserving the connexion, like the bleeding and warm water of Doctor Sangrado; if their interest and ambition

* Letters of Sir H. Sidney and Sir John Perrot

conspire, to remove wealth, concord and prosperity from our reach, and hold us divided, in chains, poverty and rags, good Lord deliver us ! Yet, for what other purpose these annual commemorations of civil wars, fabricated plots, and partly exaggerated, in part misrepresented outrages. Why those party badges of religious and political factions ? Why one faction armed and countenanced ; the other, the majority of the nation, disarmed, discountenanced ? Why foment the hostilities of these factions, until it rose to civil war ; when the ministry, by adopting one, made the other appear rebellious ?

My eyes have been so fatigued, and my feelings so disgusted, by the tiresome affectation of superior civility, and the arrogant claim of higher social improvements, on which English and Pale writers incessantly ring the change, that I determined to proceed to an immediate enquiry into the foundation of such fulsome self-adulation. As to the fine arts, they had as yet no existence in England. In music, confessedly the most civilizing of the fine arts, and the most indubitable test of civilization, the Irish, by their own confession, not only exceeded them, and all the west of Europe, but exceeded them incomparably. The language of Ireland was copious and elegant, *imprimis* ; most eminently, according to the testimony of the great Usher of English race ; while the language of England was uncouth and barren. The one language abounded with learned treatises on astronomy, physic, law, divinity, history, elegant compositions in prose

and verse, of which valuable fragments have survived the Gothic persecution of the first and second race of Danes. The other language scarce can shew a single tract worth perusal, until the end of the present reign. Architecture could not flourish among the Milesians, as their institutions, rendering tenure of lands fluctuating, to prevent its accumulation to a few hands, encouraged not the erection of gorgeous palaces; neither had it hitherto made any advances in the selfish island.

“The greatest part of our building in the cities and good towns of England consisteth only of timber, cast over with thick clay to keep out the wind. Certes, this rude kind of building made the Spaniards in queen Mary’s days to wonder; but chiefly when they saw that large diet was used in many of their so homely cottages, inso-much that one of no small reputation amongst them, said, after this manner: these English, quoth he, have their houses made of sticks and dirt, but they fare commonly so well as the king. Whereby it appeareth, that he liked better of our good fare in such coarse cabins, than of their own thin diet in their princely habitations and palaces. The clay with which our houses are commonly impannelled is either white, red, or blue.”*

Ireland, from the establishment of the Milesians, if not before it, possessed agriculture and manufactures; of which numerous proofs remain, in domestic and foreign records, some of

* Harrison, Book II. Chap. 12

which have been published by Lynch, and by Dr. Murray, in the fourth volume of the Transactions of the Philosophical Society of Goëttingen; and in Ireland's Mirror, the Anthologia and Collectanea; beside numerous incontestible evidences, found on the furrowed brows of now neglected mountains, in the bottom of bogs, in quarries and mines formerly worked; in gold and silver ornaments and vases, dug up yearly by the peasantry, in such numbers and variety, that no other country whatever has produced so great a host of silent, subterraneous depositaries of antient events. The unbounded hospitality with which the Island of Saints entertained myriads of the English youth, furnishing them with food, raiment, books, and instruction, gratuitously, attested by Bede and Alfred, whose testimony extorted this confession from Lord Lyttleton, "an honourable testimony for the bountiful generosity of this antient and learned people." Similar hospitality, exercised towards the youth of other nations, and strangers of every description, corroborates the eulogy of Donatus, bishop of Fesulæ, in Italy, composed in Latin, on this sacred island, in the seventh century; "*Insula dives opum, gemmarum, vestis et auri.*"* Without agriculture and manufactures, a nation, never much addicted to foreign commerce, which, like the Chinese, she left mostly in the hands of strangers, could not display such unequalled munificence as foreigners vouch for. The singu-

* An island rich in produce, cloth, gems and gold.

larity of their fashions; the Brehon laws, regulating the number of colours to be in the garments of each cast; the tributes, payable to the monarch and provincial kings, in gold, silver, and the manufactures of the country, mantles, swords, utensils, ships, chariots, &c. prove manufactures of their own. Until the league in France, and the tyranny of Philip II. in the Netherlands, drove some manufacturers to England, they exported the raw materials, and imported manufactured goods. This explains the vote of an English parliament, that Irish cattle was a nuisance, dead or alive; as exporters of raw materials, they disliked a competition of the same kind, in their home market.

Further tests of civilization would consist, in religion, social virtues, morality. In these exalted characteristics, England had no improvement to impart to her western sister. Not in religion: since, with a scandalous, latitudinarian indifference, she thrice in three reigns changed her creed, at the command of lustful or bigotted tyrants, and has still her faith to seek. Not in the second: for, by confession, the hospitality and charity of the Irish, amidst distress and poverty, stands yet unrivalled; so that the law, which dares not entrust the poor of England to the christian charity, or humane compassion of their countrymen, glutted with the wealth and commerce of the world, lest they should starve or hang, confides them safely to the bounty and mercy of an oppressed, impoverished people. In what state the third characteristic, morality,

stood, in the present reign, we are not to judge from the present state of England, whose flourishing commerce, fisheries and manufactures, furnish abundance of employment for all hands; and whose taxation renders that employment indispensable to the lower orders, even in old age and infancy; whose paupers are imprisoned in every parish, and fed at the expence of the public, by poor rates; but we must take our estimate from cotemporary English writers. Harrison says, book ii. chapter 11. that “ in the reign of Henry VIII. there were hanged seventy-two thousand thieves and rogues (besides other malefactors);” * this makes about two thousand a year. “ A judicious paper, which is preserved by Strype, † and which was writ by an eminent justice of peace of Somersetshire, in the year 1596, near the end of the queen’s (Elizabeth) reign, when the authority of that princess may be supposed to be fully corroborated by time, and her maxims of government improved by long practice, contains an account of the disorders which then prevailed in the county of Somerset. The author says, that forty persons had been there executed in a year for robberies, thefts, and other felonies; thirty-five burned in the hand, thirty-seven whipped, one hundred and eighty-three discharged: that those who were discharged were most wicked and desperate persons, who never could come to any good, because they would not work, and none would take them into

* Harrison’s Description of Britain.

† Annals, Vol. IV. p. 290.

service: that notwithstanding this great number of indictments, the fifth part of the felonies committed in the county were not brought to a trial; the greater number escaped censure, either from the superior cunning of the felons, the remissness of the magistrates, or the foolish lenity of the people; that the rapines, committed by the infinite number of wicked, wandering, idle people, were intolerable to the poor countrymen, and obliged them to a perpetual watch over their sheep-folds, their pastures, their woods, and their corn-fields: that the other counties of England were in no better condition than Somersetshire; and many of them even in a worse: that there were at least three or four hundred able bodied vagabonds in every county, who lived by theft and rapine; and who sometimes met in troops to the number of sixty and committed spoil on the inhabitants: that if all the felons of this kind were assembled, they would be able, if reduced to a good subjection, to give the greatest enemy her majesty has a strong battle: and that the magistrates themselves were intimidated from executing the laws upon them; and there were examples of justices of peace, who, after giving sentence against rogues, had interposed to stop the execution of their own sentence, on account of the danger which hung over them from the confederates of these felons.”*

The number of malefactors, executed in the reign of Henry VIII. for theft and robbery

* Hume, Vol. V. App. III.

alone, was truly prodigious; taken from a population short of a million and a half, according to the computations quoted in Hume's appendix. From such a sample, one would picture to his mind a people, not only uncivilized, but utterly disorganized, divested of religious and moral principles. It is very probable, that Henry's schism, and suppression of abbeys and monasteries, contributed much to augment this host of malefactors, in two ways; by diminishing restraint, and increasing temptation to guilt. First, to gain popularity to the suppression, no pains were spared to decry monks and friars, and depict them to the populace, as monsters of lust and luxury; and with some silly apes of a vile superstition, fit objects of ridicule. Turned out loose on the world, with whose affairs and fashions they were unacquainted, their awkwardness gave opportunities enough for libertines to join the fashionable laugh, and point them to the finger of scorn. From sacred persons to sacred things, the transition is easy and short; and contempt for the one leaves no respect for the other. Now, during the great power and wealth of the secular clergy, the regulars attracted the devotion of the multitude; and, as far as the court succeeded to make them odious or contemptible, so far the bulk of the people became irreligious. Besides, great numbers were deprived of their ordinary means of subsistence by the suppression. Every abbey must be considered as the center and support of a village, whose inhabitants were diversely employed and

maintained by its inmates. Some as farmers, gardeners, cowherds, &c. some as menial servants. The monks, being constant residents, the rental of the abbey-lands was always consumed on the spot, circulating in the vicinity. After the suppression, their estates fell generally, either by sale or gift, to noblemen or capitalists, residing in London, or other cities, becoming either sheepwalks or pleasure grounds, and the cottagers were ruined. Supposing five hundred religious houses, including monks, friars, nuns, and the like, no extravagant computation, and allow ten families to subsist by each, at five souls to each family, the number beggared would amount to twenty-five thousand souls; out of which, the number, that could possibly be amenable to law, for the forementioned crimes, would not exceed ten or twelve thousand, a number far short of seventy-two; not to reckon, that the calamity would not be so general as not to admit of many exceptions. Some of the abbey-lands were probably continued in tillage, affording bread and employment to the original cottagers; some might find employment elsewhere.

In order to account for the prodigious host of miscreants, with which England abounded, in the long period of the reigns of Henry, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, the cause must be traced a little farther than the calamity brought on numbers by the suppression of religious houses. To explain such general epidemic depravity in a whole nation, as amounts to a moral revolution, sweeping away, like a torrent, the imbued religious sense

timents, and impressed religious usages, whose union forms the pivot on which moral principles rest, we must seek for some general and adequate cause of such revolution. Such a cause can only be found in the measures of government, shaking and overturning the settled system of religion. The catholic religion was the national established religion of England before these times. By its hoary antiquity, consistency, generality, and solemnity of its ceremonies and pomp of worship, it commanded the veneration of the people, accustomed to believe and practise what they were taught, without scruple or enquiry. The foundation of public morals rested quietly on habits and tradition. But, when government employed numberless agents, to upset this tranquil order of things. When the press teemed with scurrilous invectives against ceremonies and rites; some of which are highly useful, and most of them, at worse, very harmless. When the authority of a servile parliament was obtained, to abolish and persecute the national religion. When the pulpit, where the healing voice of charity should alone be heard, was converted to drum ecclesiastic, resounding with lampoons, furious and scandalous, against the scarlet whore, her idolatries, and impostures. When the magistrate crammed the jails, with readers and hearers of mass. When the support of priests was made treason; the bulk of the people was, by the various arts of persecution, violence and seduction, penalties and rewards, ridiculed or cajoled, persuaded, bul-

lied or bribed out of their antient religion, when very few of them were instructed or persuaded to reverence a new system. To decry and hunt down one system, by fraud and by force, was a much easier task, than to establish in a whole people, reverence and affection for a novel system, as yet only broached, not settled, and that by men and means ill calculated to produce those effects. Persecution and seduction gained proselytes; but they were such as fear and interest make, hypocrites. The new evangelists, as they are described by cotemporary writers of their own sect, ignorant, immoral, and scandalously licentious, were only fitted to gain proselytes to irreligion; better adapted to decry fasts, confessions, penances, celibacy, and other popish austerities, than to invite, by preaching or example, to the observance of the evangelical virtues. The necessary consequence, of these means of perfidy and cruelty, to root out of the people all reverence and respect for the religion they had learned, and the inability of operating a general conversion to as yet an unsettled system, accompanied with the same reverential awe the former commanded, was hypocrisy, irreligion, immorality. We have in our days, witnessed similar effects, from similar causes, in France. The excesses of the French populace, under the regime of infidelity, will never be forgotten; and had not the coalition called forth the population of France, and given their unbridled licentiousness another direction, ambulatory guillotines would find as much employment there, as the growers

of hemp did in England, in the innovating reigns of Henry and Bess. Add to this stupendous mass of executed malefactors, stupendous indeed, when compared with the small population of England, the far greater number, who escaped detection, or were spared, by a mistaken lenity of the people; or not committed by magistrates, for fear of their vengeful associates; or discharged for want of prosecution, arising, partly from terror, partly from lenity; besides the number of receivers and circulators of theft and rapine, and the malefactors of every species omitted in this enumeration. Such universal depravation of a whole people, can only be ascribed to the violent, precipitate, persecuting reform, carried on; and teaches governments and people, the danger, the folly of resorting to precipitation and violence, for the overthrow of any settled order of things. You may call that order, tyranny, superstition, idolatry, or any other scolding epithet flung by party rage. Before you attack that order, look to the woeful effects of disorder; but, above all, before you attack the fixed principles, and settled habits, which govern the conduct and morals of the community, to most of whom implicit obedience is the polar star, and habit the compass of action. If, by persecution or seduction, by declamation, ridicule, or any other means, these affections and habits are rooted out of their minds, and they are delivered over to the management of fanatical enthusiasts, spiritual empirics, putting scripture texts in the crucible, for the discovery of wild visionary innovations, the multitude will become

an easy prey to such vain declaimers, while they turn the objects of their former veneration to ridicule; when they hold forth fasts, penances, and every sort of mortification, as intolerable tyranny. It may be easy, when enforced by power, encouraged by the example of the great and learned, and when the revolution is set forward by the executive and heads of a nation, not forcibly intruded by a hostile nation, to eradicate principles and habits, resting on traditionary acquiescence and implicit faith, by ridiculing or persecuting ceremonies and observances attached to them: but it is not easy to substitute any of equal force in their place; impossible to do so as quickly as the exigency of a precipitate revolution in religion would require. Few are instantaneously converted from one religion to another, like St. Paul; but, in all ordinary cases, time, instruction, example and persuasion, are essential to a solid and entire conversion, even of an individual, much more so for the conversion of an entire nation, even to the most perfect system of religion, sanctified by hoary antiquity, unity and universality. To effect that by a furious persecution, imprisonments, fines, torture and executions, or with bribes, favours and promotions, towards an immature fetus of a female pontiff, not yet licked into form by herself, or the good bishops of her confirmation and consecration, would be a miracle of miracles. Hypocrites without number she made; fanatics she encouraged and multiplied; the bulk of the people, terrified into hypocrisy, deprived of their original

pastors and religion, no way enticed, or indeed instructed by the new, except in the horrors of popery, sunk into indifference and ignorance of all religion; a disposition common enough among the lower orders of the English to this day, who, except in the article of scandal against popery, are left in the most deplorable ignorance of the christian faith. A saying common enough among them, ‘ I knows not what religion is, but I hates the pope.’ The decay of religion and morality are mighty evils to a state; they are not the only ones, prepared by the furious persecution of Bess for her successors. The experience of every age shews, the dangerous folly of warring against settled habits and opinions; the mad tyranny of persecuting them, if they be at all compatible with social order, with peace and industry; if they promote loyalty in the subject, and mitigate authority in the prince. The antient principles were found by long experience promotive of all these good ends. If abuses there were, as nobody will deny, they could have been discreetly and gradually removed, without shaking the foundation of religion and morality, of the altar and the throne, by an unnecessary change of the orthodox system, an unskilful, ruinous cobling of creeds and sacraments. Now, as falsehood, injustice and tyranny, betray themselves by their discordant features, Bess’s measures convicted her of tyrannic inconsistency, and improvident impolicy. She persecuted papists for adhering to antiquity, and resisting innovation; she persecuted puritans, for embracing innovation and

exploding antiquity. Popish recusants were persecuted as traitors, for refusing conformity to her own innovations; puritan malignants she persecuted for improving on her innovations; as if her private opinion were to be an infallible standard of orthodoxy. “Udal, a puritanical clergyman, published a book, called *A Demonstration of Discipline*, in which he inveighed against the government of bishops; and though he had carefully endeavoured to conceal his name, he was thrown into prison upon suspicion, and brought to trial for this offence. It was pretended, that the bishops were part of the queen’s political body; and to speak against them, was really to attack her, and was therefore felony by the statute. This was not the only iniquity to which Udal was exposed. The judges would not allow the jury to determine any thing but the fact, whether Udal had writ the book, or not, without examining his intention, or the import of the words. In order to prove the fact, the crown lawyers did not produce a single witness to the court; they only read the testimony of two persons absent, one of whom said, that Udal had told him he was the author; another, that a friend of Udal’s had said so. They would not allow Udal to produce any exculpatory evidence; which, they said, was never to be permitted against the queen. And they tendered him an oath, by which he was required to depose, that he was not author of this book; and his refusal to give that testimony was employed as the strongest proof of his guilt. It is almost needless to add, that, notwith-

standing these multiplied iniquities, a verdict of death was given by the jury against Udal: for as the queen was extremely bent upon his prosecution, it was impossible he could escape.* He died in prison before the execution of his sentence.

“ The case of Penry was, if possible, still harder. This man was a zealous puritan, or rather a Brownist; and he had written against the hierarchy several tracts, such as *Martin Marprelate*, *Theses Martinianæ*, and other compositions, full of low scurrility and petulant satire. After concealing himself for some years, he was seized; and as the statute against seditious words required, that the criminal should be tried within a year after committing the offence, he could not be indicted for his printed books. He was therefore tried for some papers found in his pocket, as if he had thereby scattered sedition.† It was also imputed to him, by the lord keeper, Puckering, that in some of these papers, “ he had only acknowledged her majesty’s royal power to establish laws, ecclesiastical and civil; but had avoided the usual terms of making, enacting, decreeing, and ordaining laws: which imply,” says the lord keeper, “ a most absolute authority.”‡ Penry for these offences was condemned and executed....

“ A severe law was also enacted against Jesuits and popish priests: that they should de-

* “ State trials, vol. i. p. 144. Strype, vol. iv. p. 21. Life of Whitgift, p. 343.

† “ Strype’s Life of Whitgift, book iv. chap. 11. Neal, vol. i. p. 564.

‡ “ Strype, vol. iv. p. 177.

part the kingdom within forty days; that those who should remain beyond that time, or should afterwards return, should be guilty of treason; that those who harboured or relieved them should be guilty of felony; that those who were educated in seminaries, if they returned not in six months after notice given, and submitted not themselves to the queen, before a bishop or two justices, should be guilty of treason: and that if any, so submitting themselves, should, within ten years, approach the queen's court, or come within ten miles of it, their submission should be void.* By this law, the exercise of the catholic religion, which had formerly been prohibited under lighter penalties, and which was, in many instances, connived at, was totally suppressed. In the subsequent part of the queen's reign, the law was sometimes executed, by the capital punishment of priests; and though the partizans of that princess asserted, that they were punished for their treason, not their religion, the apology must only be understood in this sense, that the law was enacted on account of the treasonable views and attempts of the sect, not that every individual, who suffered the penalty of the law, was convicted of treason.† The catholics, therefore, might now with justice complain of a violent persecution; which, we may safely affirm, in spite of the rigid and bigotted maxims of that

* “ 27 Eliz. cap. 1.

† “ Some even of those who defend the queen's measures, allow that in ten years fifty priests were executed, and fifty-five banished. Camden, p. 649.

age, not to be the best method of converting them, or of reconciling them to the established government and religion.”* For their treason, not their religion! Yes, truly, for their religion was made treason. Papist and traitor were made synonymous terms. Yet, strange to tell, those traitors fought her battles by sea and land, and she was more than once on the point of marrying one of them. No matter. She first thought her honour and interest concerned in the overthrow of the catholic church, and she gradually adopted its destruction, by all means, fair and foul, as a leading article of her faith and politics; a domineering passion, that swallowed up all other considerations. Under cover of feigned popish plots, she really plotted against them; and by one stratagem or another, successively cut off most of the catholic nobility and gentry of rank and fortune. At the close of a long and prosperous reign, she left the catholics a weak party, and their enemies predominant in England. Did she foresee, that she paved the way for the overthrow of her new created church and of the monarchy, and the establishment of a republic on its ruins? Could she see, that contempt for ecclesiastical authority was not very apt to inspire reverence to the civil; and that people, who were taught to despise antiquity and authority, when in competition with their own fancies; who, with bible in hand, condemned popes, councils and bishops, as ministers of antichrist, would

* Hume, Hist. of England, Vol. V. c. xlii.

soon discover, that the civil power, when in opposition to their interpretation of scripture, was one of the horns of the beast; and find authority in the bible, “with the high praises of God in their mouths, and a two-edged sword in their hands, to execute judgment on the heathen, and judgments upon the people, to bind their kings with chains and their rulers with fetters of iron?”* as Hugh Peters sung his *Io Pean*, in the king’s chapel at St. James’s, when Charles I. was a prisoner in the hands of the rebels.

Hitherto we have seen, that England had no notable improvements, in arts or manufactures, to impart to the Irish: that, if they had, by the confession of their own statesmen and writers, they would rather withhold than communicate any thing useful to a nation, whose poverty and distractions they considered as the best guarantees for its obedience; and that Ireland, in the most useful, and some of the most civilizing arts, was entitled to the precedence. The shocking immorality and profligacy of the lower orders; the no less revolting perfidy and cruelty of the higher, in the intercourse of hospitality and pacification, which civilized and most barbarous nations guard with scrupulous honor. The religious confusions, distractions, and delirious fanaticism, that convulsed that country, shedding torrents of blood; first in the tyrannic overthrow of the antient religion, afterwards in the sanguinary conflict of the triumphant innovators for

* Psalm clix.

power and riches, were not boons to be wished for; but, to use the word of chancellor Fitzgibbon, "pestilent banes," to be deprecated. Let us now see what blessings they had in store, for this unhappy country, from the sanctuary of the constitution, the guardian of civil and religious liberty. If a servile parliament, met solely to impose taxes, and register the decrees of an arbitrary monarch, was a desirable constitution, the English could have shared this blessing with us.

"One of the most antient and most established instruments of power was the court of Star-chamber, which possessed an unlimited discretionary authority of fining, imprisoning, and inflicting corporal punishment, and whose jurisdiction extended to all sorts of offences, contempts, and disorders, that lay not within reach of the common law. The members of this court consisted of the privy council and the judges; men, who all of them enjoyed their offices during pleasure: and when the prince himself was present, he was the sole judge, and all the others could only interpose with their advice. There needed but this one court, in any government, to put an end to all regular, legal, and exact plans of liberty. For who durst set himself in opposition to the crown and ministry, or aspire to the character of being a patron of freedom, while exposed to so arbitrary a jurisdiction? I much question, whether any of the absolute monarchies in Europe contain, at present, so illegal and despotic a tribunal.

"The court of High Commission was another

jurisdiction still more terrible; both because the crime of heresy, of which it took cognizance, was more undefinable than any civil offence, and because its methods of inquisition, and of administering oaths, were more contrary to all the most simple ideas of justice and equity. The fines and imprisonments imposed by this court were frequent: the deprivations and suspensions of the clergy for non-conformity were also numerous, and comprehended at one time the third of all the ecclesiastics of England.* The queen, in a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, said expressly, that she was resolved, “ That no man should be suffered to decline, either on the left or on the right hand, from the drawn line limited by authority, and by her laws and injunctions.”†

But Martial Law went beyond even these two courts, in a prompt and arbitrary and violent method of decision. Whenever there was any insurrection or public disorder, the crown employed martial law; and it was, during that time, exercised not only over the soldiers, but over the whole people: any one might be punished as a rebel, or an aider and abettor of rebellion, whom the provost-martial, or lieutenant of a county, or their deputies, pleased to suspect. Lord Bacon says, that the trial at common law, granted to the earl of Essex and his fellow conspirators, was a favour: for that the case would have borne and required the severity of martial law. We have seen instances of its being em-

* Neal, Vol. I. p. 179.

† Marden, p. 183.

ployed by queen Mary in defence of orthodoxy. There remains a letter of queen Elizabeth's to the earl of Sussex, after the suppression of the northern rebellion, in which she reproves him sharply, because she had not heard of his having executed any criminals by martial law;* though it is probable, that near eight hundred persons suffered, one way or other, on account of that slight insurrection. But the kings of England did not always limit the exercise of this law to the times of civil war and disorder. In 1552, when there was no rebellion nor insurrection, king Edward granted a commission of martial law; and empowered the commissioners to execute it, as should be thought by their discretion most necessary.† Queen Elizabeth too was not sparing in the use of this law. In 1573, one Peter Burchet, a puritan, being persuaded that it was meritorious to kill such as opposed the truth of the gospel, ran into the streets, and wounded Hawkins, the famous sea-captain, whom he took for Hatton, the queen's favourite. The queen was so incensed, that she ordered him to be punished instantly by martial law; but upon the remonstrance of some prudent counsellors, who told her, that this law was usually confined to turbulent times, she recalled her order, and delivered over Burchet to the common law.‡ But she continued not always

* MS. of lord Royston's from the paper office.

† Strype's Eccles. Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 373. 458. 9.

‡ Camden, p. 446. Strype, Vol. II. p. 288.

so reserved in exerting this authority. There remains a proclamation of hers, in which she orders martial law to be used against all such as import bulls, or even forbidden books and pamphlets from abroad;* and prohibits the questioning of the lieutenants or their deputies, for their arbitrary punishment of such offenders, any law or statute to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. We have another act of her's still more extraordinary. The streets of London were much infested with idle vagabonds and riotous persons: the lord mayor had endeavoured to repress this disorder: the star-chamber had exerted its authority, and inflicted punishment on these rioters: but the queen, finding those remedies ineffectual, revived martial law, and gave Sir Thomas Wilford a commission of provost-marshal: "granting him authority, and commanding him, upon signification given by the justices of the peace in London, or the neighbouring counties, of such offenders, worthy to be speedily executed by martial law, to attach and take the same persons, and in the presence of the said justices, according to justice of martial law, to execute them upon the gallows or gibbet openly, or near to such place where the said rebellious and incorrigible offenders shall be found to have committed the said great offences."† I suppose it will be difficult to produce an instance of such an act of authority in any place nearer than Muscovy.

* Strype, Vol. III. p. 556.

† Rymer, Tom. XVI. p. 279.

“ The star-chamber, and high commission, and court-martial, though arbitrary jurisdictions, yet had still some pretence of a trial, at least of a sentence; but there was a grievous punishment very familiarly inflicted in that age, without any other authority than the warrant of a secretary of state, or of the privy council;* and that was, Imprisonment, in any jail, and during any time that the ministers should think proper. In suspicious times, all the jails were full of prisoners of state; and these unhappy victims of public jealousy were sometimes thrown into dungeons, and loaded with irons, and treated in the most cruel manner, without their being able to obtain any remedy from law.

“ This practice was an indirect way of employing torture: but the rack itself, though not admitted in the ordinary execution of justice,† was frequently used, upon any suspicion, without other authority than a warrant from the secretary or the privy council. Even the council in the marches of Wales was empowered, by their very commission, to make use of torture, whenever they thought proper.‡ There cannot be a stronger proof how lightly the rack was employed, than the following story, told by lord Bacon. We shall give it in his own words. “ The queen was mightily incensed against Haywarde, on account of a book he dedicated to lord Essex, being a

* In 1588, the lord mayor committed several citizens to prison, because they refused to pay the loan demanded of them. Murden, p. 632.

† Harrison, Book II. c. 11.

‡ Haynes, p. 196. See farther la Boderie, vol. i. p. 211.

story of the first year of Henry IV. thinking it a seditious prelude to put into the people's heads boldness and faction:§ She said, she had an opinion that there was treason in it, and asked me, if I could not find any places in it, that might be drawn within the case of treason: whereto I answered, for treason, sure I found none; but for felony, very many: and when her majesty very hastily asked me, wherein? I told her, the author had committed very apparent theft: for he had taken most of the sentences of Cornelius Tacitus, and translated them into English, and put them into his text. And another time, when the queen could not be persuaded, that it was his writing whose name was to it, but it had some more mischievous author, and said with great indignation that she would have him racked to produce his author; I replied, nay, madam, he is a doctor, never rack his person, but rack his style: let him have pen, ink, and paper, and help of books, and be enjoined to continue the story where it breaketh off, and I will undertake, by collating the styles to judge whether he were the author or no."* Thus, had it not been for Bacon's humanity, or rather his wit, this author, a man of letters, had been put to the rack, for a most innocent performance. His real offence was, his dedicating a book to that munificent patron of

§ To our apprehension, Hayward's book seems rather to have a contrary tendency. For he has thus preserved the famous speech of the bishop of Cuthbert, which contains, in the most express terms, the doctrine of passive obedience. But queen Elizabeth was very difficult to please on our head.

* Cabbala, p. 81.

the learned, the earl of Essex, at a time when this nobleman lay under disgrace with her majesty.

“ The queen’s menace, of trying and punishing Haywarde for treason, could easily have been executed, let his book have been ever so innocent. While so many terrors hung over the people, no jury durst have acquitted a man whom the court was resolved to have condemned. The practice also, of not confronting witnesses with the prisoner, gave the crown lawyers all imaginable advantage against him. And, indeed, there scarcely occurs an instance, during all these reigns, that the sovereign, or the ministers, were ever disappointed in the issue of a prosecution. Timid juries, and judges who held their offices during pleasure, never failed to second all the views of the court.

“ The government of England during that age, however different in other particulars, bore, in this respect, some resemblance to that of Turkey at present: the sovereign possessed every power, except that of imposing taxes: and in both countries this limitation, unsupported by other privileges, appears rather prejudicial to the people. In Turkey, it obliges the sultan to permit the extortion of the bashas and governors of provinces, from whom he afterwards squeezes presents or takes forfeitures: in England, it engaged the queen to erect the monopolies, and grant patents for exclusive trade: an invention so pernicious, that, had she gone on, during a tract of years, at her own rate, England, the seat of riches, and arts, and commerce, would have con-

tained at present as little industry as Morocco, on the coast of Barbary.

“ Purveyance was a method of taxation, unequal, arbitrary, and oppressive. The whole kingdom felt sensibly the burthen of this imposition: and it was regarded as a great privilege conferred on Oxford and Cambridge, to prohibit the purveyors from taking any commodities within five miles of these universities. The queen victualled her navy by means of this prerogative, during the first years of her government.*

“ Embargoes on merchandize was another engine of royal power, by which the English princes were able to extort money from the people. Elizabeth, before her coronation, issued an order to the custom-house, prohibiting the sale of all crimson silks, which should be imported, till the court was first provided.† She expected, no doubt, a good penny-worth from the merchants, while they lay under this restraint.

“ The parliament pretended to the right of enacting laws, as well as of granting subsidies; but this privilege was, during that age, still more insignificant than the other. Queen Elizabeth expressly prohibited them from meddling with state matters or ecclesiastical causes; and she openly sent the members to prison, who dared to transgress her imperial edict in these particulars. There passed few sessions of parliament, during her reign, where there occur not instances of this arbitrary conduct.

* Camden, p. 388.

† Strype, Vol. I. p. 27

“ The queen’s prohibition of the Prophesyings shews still the unlimited extent of her prerogative. Two or three people could not meet together, in order to read the scriptures, and confer about religion, though in ever so orthodox a manner, without her permission.”*

At this juncture three provinces of Ireland may fairly be considered under Elizabeth’s yoke. The south, much depopulated, and the vast tracts of land, confiscated from Desmond and his followers, left room for the favourite scheme of colonizing and civilizing Ireland from the abundance of English felons, for whose transportation neither America nor Botany-bay were as yet projected. A commission of survey was to be appointed, a parliament to be assembled for passing acts of attainder, schemes to be devised for lessening the annual expence of Ireland, provoking burden ! and encreasing the revenue. The government was, on these accounts, committed to Sir John Perrot, a man revered in Ireland for his justice ; one who had studied its interests, and whose policy was liberal. He found the kingdom generally tranquil ; the last insurgent of note, lord Baltinglas, fled to Spain ; and he published a general amnesty, to all who should submit and swear allegiance. He sent the son of the earl of Desmond to the queen, to be educated agreeably to her principles, with a view of qualifying him for the propagation of the new-invented faith.

* Hume, Hist. of England, Appendix III.

To induce the original Irish, and the so called degenerate English, to renounce all ideas of independence, reject Irish institutions, and quietly submit their necks to the yoke, were the grand objects at present, an. 1584. For this purpose Perrot visited, at the head of his army, the different provinces, beginning with Connaught. That province was divided into six counties, Clare, Galway, Sligo, Mayo, Roscommon, and Leitrim. Sheriffs were appointed for each of them, and Sir Richard Bingham made president of the whole. Hence he proceeded to the south; but, on his arrival at Limerick, he received intelligence, that one thousand Scots had landed in Ulster, and, in conjunction with their countrymen already settled there, threatened some disturbances. He quickly marched to the north, where his appearance had a sudden and powerful effect. The new arrived Scots fled to their ships, and left their brethren of Ulster to make their peace. The Irish chieftains waited on Perrot, with professions of esteem and loyalty to their engagements.

After presenting some fruitless projects to the English ministry, for strengthening the power of the English government in Ireland, even by consent of the remaining chieftains, by the grant of any reasonable terms, Perrot convened an Irish parliament, the most independent and respectable that ever met in Ireland since the conveniency of Temora. The representatives, deputed from the Milesians, were: the chiefs of Tirconnell and Tirone, particularly Terlegh, Luinegh, O'Neill,

and Hugh the son of Firdarach O'Neill, last baron of Dungannon, who attended under the title of earl of 'Tirone; O'Donall (Hugh the son of Magnus) Maguire, chief of Fermanagh, (Cuchonnact the son of Cuchonnact) O'Dogharty, chief of Inisoen, (Shane og the son of Shane) O'Boyle, (Torlogh son of Neill) O'Gallagher, John the son of Tuathal. The chieftains of Orgial, (Ros the son of Arthur Mac Mahon, O'Cahane (Rory the son of Magnus), chieftain of Oreach, Conn O'Neille (the son of Null og) chief of Clanna-boy, Magennis, chief of Iveagh (Hugh the son of Donall og), O'Rorke, chief of the western Breffny (Brian na Murtha, the son of Brian Ballach), O'Reily, chief of the eastern Breffny (Shane Roc, the son of Hugh Conallach), together with his uncle Edmond, in contention with each other about the right of governing their country. The O'Farralls of Annally, viz. O'Farral Can (William son of Donal), and O'Farrall boy (Fachtna son of Brian). The Clan-Mury chiefs of Connaught, viz. Hugh O'Conor (the son of Dermond O'Conordon), Teig og O'Conor Roe, Donall O'Conor Sligoe. Brian Mac Dermott, representative for May-lurg (the plains of Bayle), the chieftain of that district being disabled by great age from personally appearing; O'Berne, chief of Tirbrun on Shannon (Carbrey the son of Teige), O'Kelly of Hy-Manly (Teige son of William), O'Madden of Siol Anmead (Donall son of Shane). The earl of Clanrickard (the son of Richard), the two sons of O'Shagnussy (John and Der-

mond.) Murcha-na-dua O'Flaherty, for the country of Ler-Conaght. From Thomond, Donogh (the son of Conor), earl of Thomond, and Sir Turlogh O'Brien, elected knight of parliament for the county of Clare; also Turlogh the son of Teige O'Brien and Macnamara (Shane), representative of the western district of Clan cullim, and Boethius Mac Egan returned one of the knights of parliament for the county of Tipperary. Ros the son of O'Lochlin, of Burren; the son also of O'Brien of Ara (Murtagh, the bishop of Killaloe), O'Carrol of Ely (Calvagh), Mac Caghlin (Shane), the son of Arthur, O'Ducie of Coille na managh (Philip son of Othus), Mac Brian O'Guanach (Murtogh), the chieftain of Carigogonnel (Brian Duff O'Brian), O'Mulrian (Conor na meinge), chieftain of Uathney O'Mulrian. Also a number of chiefs from South Mury, Mac Carthy Mor (Donall), Mac Carthy Cairbreach (Owen son of Donall), with his nephews by two brothers, Donall and Fingin. Two of the Mac Carthy chiefs also, who were in contention about the estate of Alla. O'Sullivan of Bera (Owen son of Dermod), O'Sullivan Mor (Owen son of Donall), O'Mahony of Fun iara-rach (Conor), O'Driscoll Mor (Fingin), Mac Gilla Patric of Ossory (Fingin), Macgeochagan, chief of Kenel Fiacha (Conla), O'Mulloy (Connall), chief of Fera-kall. Fiach Mac Hugh O'Burn, representative for the Glyn of Malura, (county of Wicklow,) which he possessed. Few of the Cavenaghs, O'Burns, O'Tools, O'Duns, or the O'Dempseys, attended this parliament.

After mentioning only a few of their names, Leland adds, “such slight circumstances serve to mark the progress of reformation!” Already the reader may have seen a glimpse of English manners, a conformity to which is called reformation! I wonder how any man of common understanding would commit himself to the public with such a silly sentence. What becomes of the eulogy bestowed on Perrot, his knowledge of the interests of this country, acquired by long study, his liberal and benevolent policy? He thought the assembling the antient proprietors and the settlers, in one parliament, to be the first step towards forming them into one people, not a slight but a weighty and glorious circumstance; in which opinion every man of untainted judgment must agree.

During his administration, by pursuing a liberal policy, and proposing equitable terms to the residue of Irish chieftains, he left evident demonstrations, that such a national incorporation could be effected, uniting the two races into one people, obeying one government, agreeably to one constitution and system of laws, without fighting a blow. But it would not suit the inhuman policy of those, who wished to keep the Irish divided and poor, to ensure their obedience; nor of those blood-thirsty vultures, who sought the confiscation of a kingdom, by exterminating a nation, always renowned for hospitality, generosity, long for sanctity and learning, the eminent benefactress of England and of Europe; nor the queen, whose unquenchable fury against the catholic faith

required the extirpation thereof out of the land. What if the Milesians were exterminated by war, inflicted famine, base coin, murderous banquets and negotiations, sham plots, she could colonize their lands, and ease her kingdom of the numberless ungovernable felons with which it was infested.

The independent spirit, displayed by this assembly, exhibits a striking contrast to the fawning servility of English parliaments during this and the preceding reigns. The bill for suspending Poyning's law was thrown out; that for renewing the ordinary tax of thirteen shillings and four pence on every plow land, met the same fate. They refused to vest the queen with the lands of attainted persons, or to declare those guilty of treason who detained any of her castles; so that two acts only were passed, during a short session, in which every measure of government experienced strong opposition, the attainder of lord Baltinglas and his adherents, and the restoration of a person, whose ancestor had been attainted in the reign of Harry the Eighth.

Perrot's administration was successful and liberal. He treated the antient natives as fellow creatures of the same flesh and blood, virtues and vices, as other human beings; not with the rancorous antipathy, perfidy, and flagrant injustice, with which they were harassed and persecuted, by most of his predecessors. His attention to prevent oppression and abuses in the lower departments of office, raised him an host of enemies. All of English birth, the proselytes to the

new religion, and many of the degenerate Irish, swordsmen of desperate fortunes, whose name and alliances could draw followers after them; all, eager for a participation of church plunder, and of confiscated estates, were hostile to the man and measures, that promised a tranquil settlement of the kingdom. Complaints against him were sent to the queen, from various quarters; and, from a letter she sent him by secretary Fenton, perceiving the queen's prepossessions against him, he earnestly entreated to be recalled.

Perrot's candid method of dealing with the old Irish, procured every good effect he hoped for. The chieftains of the north agreed to maintain eleven hundred men for the queen, at their own charge, provided they were allowed the free exercise of their religion, and be liberated from the oppressions and ravages of sheriffs' garrisons. In Connaught a free composition was settled, in lieu of assessments, and the English law received. The confiscation of the vast landed property, held by Desmond and his adherents, allowed the queen to indulge her favourite scheme of colonizing Ireland. " Letters were written to every county in England, to encourage younger brothers to become undertakers in Ireland. Estates were offered in fee at a small acreable rent of three pence, and in some places two pence, to commence at the end of three years, and for three years more, half only of the stipulated rent was to be paid. Seven years were allowed to complete their plantation. The undertaker for twelve thousand acres was bound to plant eighty-six

families on his estate; those who engaged for lesser seigniories, were to provide a proportionable number. NONE OF THE NATIVE IRISH WERE TO BE ADMITTED AMONG THEIR TENANTRY; and, among other advantages, they were assured, that sufficient garrisons should be stationed on their frontiers; and commissioners appointed to decide their controversies. Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Norris, Sir Warham Saintleger, Sir George Bouchier, and a number of other gentlemen of power and distinction, received grants of different portions. But the greater their rank and consequence, the more were they emboldened to neglect the terms of their grant. Instead of completing their stipulated numbers of tenantry, the same persons were admitted tenants to different undertakers, and in the same seigniority sometimes served at once as freeholder, as leaseholder, as copyholder, to fill up the necessary number of each denomination. Leases and conveyances were made to many of the Irishry. In some places the lands were abandoned to the old possessors, in others the undertakers unjustly encroached on the estates of the innocent and loyal inhabitants: not residing themselves, they entrusted the settlement and support of their respective colonies, to agents ignorant, negligent and corrupt. No effectual provisions were made for defence either by themselves or by the queen. Such instances of misconduct were severely felt, and contributed to the subsequent disorders of the kingdom."

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iii. p. 301.

However wise Perrot's system of settling the affairs of Ireland might have been, his intentions were frustrated, and any benefits that might be expected from English law and equitable regulations were entirely defeated, by the iniquity of those who were to superintend the execution of the one, and administer the other. Bingham, president of Connaught, ruled people little accustomed to severe rule, with a rod of iron and a harpie claw. "The sheriffs and other officers of justice followed the example of the lord president, and acted not only with rigour, but imperiousness. They entered the several counties, attended with large bodies of armed men, pillaging the inhabitants, whom they affected to despise, terrifying them with their military train, and rendering the execution of law odious and oppressive; so as to confirm their aversion from a system accepted with reluctance. One of the De Burghos, called Thomas Roah, was summoned to the session of judges, held in the county of Mayo, and refused to attend. Bingham ordered him to be seized; he resisted, and was killed; two of his adherents were taken and executed."* A petty insurrection was the unavoidable consequence of these enormous cruelties, which only served to aggravate the miseries of the oppressed. One of the leaders, Richard, brother to Sir Thomas Roah, soon surrendered, but was ordered by Bingham to instant execution. In the suppression of this insurrection, the president was powerfully assisted by some Irish

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iii. p. 302.

clans, and those called degenerate English. Of the extent of military execution, plunder and confiscation, I have seen no correct detail; but it need not be doubted, that such a tyrant as Bingham would not let slip so fine an opportunity of sating his thirst for Irish blood, and his coffers with their spoil. Many escaped death, by inlisting in the army destined for the Low Countries, in support of the revolted faithful of the new gospel; some escaped to Spain.

Now three of the provinces being comfortably reclaimed, reformed and civilized, by the queen's ministers and forces, in conjunction with their Irish auxiliaries, the benefits of which to the province of Munster Spencer thus sketched. "Notwithstanding that the same was a most rich, and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle.—Yet, ere one year and a half, they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stony heart would rue the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glynns, they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them: they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves, they did eat the dead carrions, happy were they could find them, yea, and one another soon after: inso-much, as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves, and, if they found a plot of watercresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able to continue there withal; that, in short space, there was none almost left. and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man and

beast.”* The other provinces had no Spencer to record the favours conferred on them by their reclaimers. It was now high time to turn their attention to the north, the only part of Ireland continuing unreclaimed, exulting in the untouched population, agriculture, manufactures and religion of that province. Monasteries and seminaries of learning were still protected there. The catholic religion maintained its ground, consequently, dainty morsels of church plunder might be looked for, and plenty of confiscations, already decreed by the provincial parliament, in the second year of Elizabeth. Had it not been predetermined to extend to the north the same discipline exercised in the south, this act would not have passed, or stood unrepealed. How could it be expected, that the extermination of the ancient race, and the colonizatic : of the land by English adventurers, projected, and in part executed by popish England, should be relinquished by their protestant successors? That the dominion of the crown of England would be submitted to by the northern lords, and preserved by equitable and moderate administration, is acknowledged by Leland, and by Lee.† It was practically proved by deputy Perrot. But then the odious stipulations, of not being compelled to renounce religion, and submit to the plunder and outrages of sheriffs, carrying along with them a posse of robbers and prostitutes, offending the pious, and corrupting the youth, by their scan-

* Spencer's State of Ireland, p. 158.

† See Memoir, in Appendix.

dalous profaneness and open immoralities. “ A great part of the unquietness of O’Donnell’s country (Tirconnel) came by Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam placing one Willis there to be sheriff, who had with him three hundred of the very rascals and scum of that kingdom, which did rob and spoil that people, ravish their wives and daughters, and made havoc of all; which bred such a discontent, as that the whole country was up in arms against them, so as if the earl of Tyrone had not rescued and delivered him and them out of the country, they had been all put to the sword.”* Lest Fermanagh should be jealous of the graces bestowed on O’Donnell’s country, it was favoured with a similar visitation. The chieftain of Fermanagh, Maguire, alledged, “ that he had given three hundred cows, to free his country from a sheriff, during the lord deputy’s government; and that, notwithstanding, one captain Willis was made sheriff of Fermanagh, having, for his guard, one hundred men; and leading about some hundreds of women and boys, all living upon the spoil of the country: upon which, taking his advantage, Maguire set upon them, and drove them into a church, where he would have put them all to the sword, if the earl of Tyrone had not interposed his authority, and made composition for their lives, upon condition that they should all leave the country. Upon this occasion, the lord deputy Fitzwilliams sent the queen’s forces, commanded by the earl of Tyrone and the English marshall of Normandy, into

* Lee’s Memorial to queen Elizabeth.

Fermanagh, won Maguire's castle of Enniskillen, and proclaimed him a traitor. The Irish avow, that his lordship let fall some speeches against the earl of Tyrone himself, calling him a traitor also, (notwithstanding his late services,) which speeches coming to that earl's hearing, he ever after said, were the first causes that moved him to misdoubt his safety, and to stand upon his defence; now first combining himself with O'Donnel, and the other lords of the north, to defend their honours, estates and liberties."*

"In the northern province, which had but just now professed to accept the English polity, the execution of the laws was rendered detestable and intolerable, by the queen's officers. Sheriffs purchased their places; acted, as in Connaught, with insolence and oppression; spoiled the old inhabitants, and obliged them to recur to their native chieftains for protection. As the state had no forces in Ulster, nothing but the mutual suspicion and disunion of the Irish prevented a sudden and violent insurrection."† What else was looked for, but such an event, as might lead to church plunder and confiscations? Wherefore send profligate miscreants, with the queen's commission, to pillage, rob, ravish, to destroy morals and religion, but the hope, that resistance to a tyranny, at once so shameful and detestable, so intolerable and base, would furnish a pretence for extermination and plunder? Will any man be surprised, that the De Burghos of Connaught

* Curry's Hist. Rev. c. v. and Morrison's Hist. of Ireland

† Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iii. p. 305.

refused to admit such nefarious pests of society, for which noncompliance they were prosecuted with fire and sword? or that O'Donnel refused them entrance into Tyrconnel, whose noncompliance the state, unable by force, revenged by fraud. "A merchant of Dublin was instructed to lade a ship with Spanish wines, and to sail up by Donnegall, into the country of O'Donnel, to expose his wines to sale, to shew an extraordinary courtesy and bounty to the natives, to invite and feast them in his ship: and if the old chieftain or his son should be prevailed on to come on board, to entertain them liberally; and when intoxicated, to secure them under hatches, and to convey them to Dublin. The pretended Spanish merchant executed his commission accurately and successfully. The rude inhabitants crowded to purchase his wines, and to partake of his liberality. The eldest son of O'Donnel, and two companions, accepted his invitation to carouse on board of his ship: and when they awaked from their debauch, they found themselves prisoners. They were deposited in the castle of Dublin.* Their treatment therein is thus described by Lee "His manner of usage was most dishonorable and discommendable, and neither allowable before God or man. For he (O'Donnel) being young, and being taken by this stratagem, having never offended, was imprisoned with great severity, many irons laid upon him, as if he had been a notable traitor and malefactor."†

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iii. p. 310.

† Lee's Memorial.

This act of swindling closed the administration of Perrot, who, in spite of his utmost efforts to serve the crown of England, and strengthen the English interest in Ireland, was mortified by the queen, denied the necessary support for his government, traduced by the incessant malice of his enemies, and insulted by his inferiors at the council-board. He earnestly petitioned Elizabeth to recal him from the burden of government, rendered intolerable by the perverseness of her English subjects in Ireland, whose enmity he had provoked beyond all possibility of reconciliation, by restraining their oppressions of the antient natives.

The extermination of antient race, and of antient religion, was not to be effected by equity, moderation, or impartial government. These seem to have been principal objects with the queen, her council, and adventurers, both arrived, and speculating on a venture to Ireland. 'Tis notorious, that the overthrow of the catholic religion was the darling object of Elizabeth, chief object of her ambition; for the attainment of which, she spared no pains or expence; in the pursuit of which, she disregarded effusion of blood as puddle water, and trampled every feeling of humanity, every principle of morality, every law, human and divine, that could thwart her headlong career. Sensible of her unappeasable fury against the mother church, Lee, in his Memoir, endeavours to apologize for O'Neil's catholicity. " It will be represented to your majesty, that he and his lady are papists, and

foster seminaries. 'Tis true he is affected this way, but not half so bitter as the greatest men of the Pale. He will go with the state, and remain to hear sermon and service, while they, as soon as they leave the deputy at the door, run off like wild cats."

A successor was appointed to Perrot, Sir William Fitz-William, of a character suitable to the temper and hopes of all, who wished to wade through blood and ruin to wealth and honor, and who wished at any price to extinguish antient race and religion; when, as Leland owns, "an interval of tranquillity had diffused plenty and prosperity through the country; the provinces of Connaught and Munster governed with vigour, by Richard Bingham and Sir Thomas Norris, deputy to his brother John: when the discontents of Ulster had not yet broken out into any violence, and might easily have been stifled, by a moderate and equitable conduct." But neither the new deputy nor his employers were of a temper to relish the tranquillity and prosperity of a popish nation, whose disunion and poverty were considered as the best pledges of their obedience. Many feats of English civilization had already been atchieved, by the gallant soldiers of that humane, liberal and honorable people, on the persons, goods, religion and rights, of this poor anathematized nation, without discovering symptoms of commotion among the northerns, the only province as yet not sufficiently civilized. Such were the assassinations of ecclesiastics for religion: "Glaby O'Boyle, abbot of Boyle of

the diocese of Elphin, and Owen O'Mulkeren, abbot of the monastery of the Holy Trinity in that diocese, hanged and quartered by lord Gray, in 1580; John Stephens, priest, for that he said mass to Teague M'Hugh, was hanged and quartered by the lord Burroughs, in 1597; Thady O'Boyle, guardian of the monastery of Donegal, was slain by the English in his own monastery; six friars were slain in the monastery of Mognihigan; John O'Calyhor and Bryan O'Trevor, of the order of St. Bernard, were slain in their own monastery, de Santa Maria, in Ulster; as also Felimy O'Hara, a lay brother; so was Eneas Penny, parish priest of Killagh, slain at the altar in his parish church there; Cahall M'Goran, Rory O'Donnellan, Peter O'Quillan, Patrick O'Kenna, George Power, vicar-general of the diocese of Ossory, Andrew Stretch of Limerick, Bryan O'Murhirtagh, vicar-general of the diocese of Clonfert, Doroghow O'Molowny of Thomond, John Kelly of Louth, Ste. Patrick of Annaly, John Pillis, friar, Rory M'Henlea, Tirrilagh M'Inisky, a lay brother. All those that came after Eneas Penny, together with Walter Fernan, priest, died in the castle of Dublin, either through hard usage and restraint, or the violence of torture."*

Murderous banquets; of which some are recorded: as that of Brien Roe O'Brien, murdered by De Clare, at a feast to which he invited him for that purpose. The intended assassination of O'Kavenagh, defeated by his extraordinary valour and good for-

* Theatre of Catholic and Protestant Religion, p. 582.

tune. The murder of O'Neil of Clan-hu-boy, and his retinue, by the earl of Essex, at a feast, to which he invited him. The perfidious invitations to negotiate for peace, with the intent of massacring the negociators; as that of the O'Moores at Mullahmaisteen, of the Butlers at Kilkenny, of the O'Neils at Derry, and a long et cetera. Under cover of negotiation, and cessation of hostilities, the first invaders perfidiously took Dublin by surprize, trusting to the law of nations, that no hostilities would commence until sufficient notice that the negotiation had failed. The same perfidy was practised on the Italians, who accompanied Fitzmorris to Ireland, which is thus detailed in the Irish annals. "An. 1580, in the war of the Fitzgeralds, an Italian fleet, belonging to the pope, landed its men, in the month of September, on the coast of Kerry, in an island called Oilean an Oir, which the Fitzgeralds had fortified in the former year. The intention of this expedition was to assist the Fitzgeralds, much distressed through their attempts to support the catholic religion in Ireland. On the news of this landing, the lord deputy, Gray, ordered Thomas, earl of Ormond, to head an army, and lead it towards the island, where the Italians were fortifying themselves. The earl delayed not. He marched into Kerry, where an army of the Fitzgeralds were preparing to oppose him; an engagement ensued, and Ormond had at last the way left open to him, till he arrived in sight of the island, and took a view of the entrenchments which were thrown up by the Italians.

He concluded, that it was too desperate an undertaking to attack them within their lines; he retired, and waited for the lord deputy, who was on his march to join him. On their joining, it was concluded, that they should not encamp close to the island, but approach it at the head of a few, to reconnoitre the works of the enemy, and to decoy them into an interview. Some chiefs of the Italians came out to confer with the deputy and the earl; and, after some debates, the Italians were offered good conditions. While these terms were entering into, the lord deputy's troops passed over into the island, and massacred, to a man, the whole body of seven hundred Italians, who had landed there. The deputy, after this sad exploit, seized upon a great quantity of gold, and other effects of the invaders."* Reformation of religion, by the sacrilegious plunder and desolation of churches, and by the substitution of men, ignorant and profligate, for a zealous and learned ministry, murdered or expelled, is attested by Leland and Sydney. "The prejudices conceived against the Reformation, by the Irish natives more especially, were still further encreased, by the conduct of those who were commissioned to remove the objects and instruments of popular superstition. Under pretence of obeying the orders of state, they seized all the most valuable furniture of the churches, which they exposed to sale without decency or reserve. The Irish annalists pathetically describe the garrison of Athlone

* Irish Annals, MS.

issuing forth, with a barbarous and heathen fury, and pillaging the famous church of Clonmacnoise, tearing away the most inoffensive ornaments, books, bells, plate, windows, furniture of every kind, so as to leave the shrine of their favourite saint, Kieran, a hideous monument of sacrilege. Nor do such complaints appear to have been entirely groundless," Leland adds, "for we find that Sir James Crofts, the successor of Saintleger, who had been remanded into England, was particularly instructed to prevent the sale of bells and other church-furniture."* Sir Henry Sydney thus describes the desolation of religion, in his letter to queen Elizabeth. "May it please your most excellent majestie, I have in fower severall discourssies, addressed vnto the lordes of your highnes most honourable counsell, certified them howe I founde this your highness realme, at myne arryval into the same; and what I have seene, and vnderstand by my travell theise last sixe monethes, in whiche I have passid thorough eche province, and have bene almost in eche countye thereof: the whiche I would not sende to your most excellent majestie, immediatlye to be reade by the same; least they should have seamed to tedious, partelye thorough the quantitie of the matter, but chieflye thorough the bad delyvery thereof, by my pen; not doubtinge but your majestie is by this tyme advertized of the materiall pointes contained therein.

"And nowe, most deare mistres, and most

* Leland, Vol. II. Book III. c. viii. p. 115.

honored sovereigne, I solye addresse to you, as to the onelye sovereigne salve geuer, to this your sore and sicke realme; the lamentable estate of the most noble and principall lym thereof, the church I meane, as fowle, deformed, and as cruellye crushed, as any other parte thereof; by your onelye gracious and relygious order to be cured, or at least amended: I would not have beleved, had I not, for a great parte, viewed the same, thoroughout the whole realme, and was advertized of the perticuler estate of eche church, in the bishoppricke of Meithe (being the best inhabited countrie of all this realme) by the honest, zealous, and learned bishopp of the same, Mr. Hugh Bradye, a godlye minister for the gospell, and a good servaunt to your highnes, who went from church to church hymselfe, and found, that there are within his dioces 224 parishe churches, of which number 105 are impropriated to sondrie possessions, nowe of your highnes, and all leased out for yeares, or in fee farme, to severall farmers, and great gayne reaped out of them above the rent, which your majestie receivethe; no parson, or vicar, resident vpon any of them, and a verye simple, or soarye curat, for the most parte, appointed to serve them; amonge which number of curatts, onelye eightene were found able to speake Englishe; the rest Irishe preists, or rather Irishe roges, havinge verye little Lattin, lesse learninge, or cyvilitie: all theise lyve upon the bare alterages (as they tearme them) which God knoweth are verye small, and were wont to lyve upon the

gayne of masses, dirges, shryvings, and soch lyke tromperye, goodlye abolished by your majestie: no one howse standinge for any of them to dwell in. In maney places, the very walles of the churches doune; very few chauncells covered, wyndowes and dores ruyned, or spoyled: there are 52 other parishe churches in the same dioces, who have vicars induced vpon them, better served and mayntained then the other, yet but badlye. There are 52 parishe churches more, residue of the first number of 224, which pertain to dyvers perticuler lordes, and these though in better estate than the rest commonlye are, yet farre from well. If this be the estate of the churche, in the best peopled dyoces, and best governed countrie, of this your realme (as in troth it is:) easye it is for your majesty to conjecture, in what case the rest is, where little or no reformation, either of religion or manners, hath yet bene planted, and contynued amonge theine; yea, so profane and heathenish are some parts of this youre countrie becommen, as it hath bene preached publikelye before me, that the sacrament of baptisme is not vsed amonge them, and trewlye I beleve it: if I should write vnto your majesty, what spoyle hath bene, and is of the archbisshoppricks, whereof there are fower, and of bisshoppricks, whereof there are above thirtie, partelye by the prelatts them selves, partelye by the potentates, their noysome neighbors, I should make too longe a lybell of this my lettre; but your majesty may beleve it, that vpon the face of the earthe, where Christ is professed,

there is not a church in so miserable a case: the misery of which consisteth in these three particulars, the ruine of the very temples themselves; the want of good ministers to serve in them, when they shall be reedified; competent living for the ministers, being well chosen. For the first, let it like your most gracious majesty to write earnestly to me, and to whom else, it may best please you, to examine in whom the fault is, that the churches are so ruinous; if it be founde in the countrie or fermors, to compell them speedily to goe about the amendement of them; if the fault, for the churches of your highnes inheritance, be not in the fermors, nor they bound to repaier them (and the most ruined of them are soche as are of your possession) it may like you, to graunt warraunt that some porcion may yerely, of the revenue of every parsonadge, be bestowed on the church of the same.

“ For the second and third; which is, that good ministers might be founde to occupie the places, and they made able to live in them; in choyce of which ministers, for the remote places, where the English tongue is not understood, it is most necessarie that soche be chosen as can speake Irishe, for which searche would be made first, and speedily, in your owne universities; and any founde there well affected in religion, and well conditioned beside, they would be sent hether animated by your majesty; yea, though it were somewhat to your highnes charge; and on perill of my life, you shall fynde it returned

with gayne, before three yeres be expired: if there be no soch there, or not inough (for I wish tene or twelve at the least) to be sent, who might be placed in offices of dignitie in the church, in remote places of this realme then I do wishe, (but this most humblye vnder your highnes correction,) that you would write to the regent of Scotlande, where, as I learne, there are maney of the reformed church, that are of this language, that he would prefer to your highnes so maney as shall seme good to you to demaunde, of honest, zelous, and learned men, and that could speake this language; and though for a whyle your majestie were at some chardge, it were well bestowed, for, in shorte tyme, their own preferments would be able to suffice them; and in the mean tyme, thowsands would be gayned to Christ, that now are lost, or left at the woorst: and for the ministerie of the churches of the English pale of your owne inheritaunce, be contented, most vertuous quene, that some convenient porcion for a minister may be allowed to hym, out of the farmor's rents; it will not be moch losse to you, in your revenue, but gayne otherwise inestimable, and yet the decay of your rent but for a while, for, the yeares once expired of the leases alreadye graunted, there is no doubt, but that to be graunted to the church will be recovered with encrease.

“ I wishe, and most humblye beseeche your majestie, that there may be three or fower, grave, learned, and venerable parsonagies of the clergie there, be sent hether, who in short space, being

here, would censiblye perceive the enormities of this overthrowene church, and easelye prescribe orders, for the repaier and vpholdinge of the same, whiche I hope God would confirme; and I fynde no difficultie, but that your officer here might execute the same; cawse the bisshoppes of that your realme, to vndertake this apostleshipp, and that upon their owne chardgies: They be riche enoughe, and if either they be thankfull to your majestie, for your immence bountye donne to them, or zealous to jncrease the christian flocke, they will not refuse this hononourable and religious travell; and I will vndertake their guydinge and gardinge honorablye, and safelye from place to place: the great desier that I have, to have soche from thence, is, for that I hope to fynde them, not onely grave in judgement but voyd of affection.

I most humblye beseache your majestie to accept theise my rude letters, as figures of a zealous mynde for reformation of this your church and countrie; wherein me thinketh I woorke waywardlye, when the latter is preferred before the former. When I had thus come to an ende of this my evill scriblid lettre, and beheld the illegiable lynes, and ragged lettres of myne owne staggering hand, I was ashamed to suffer the same to be sent to your majestie, but made by man to write it out agayne; for whiche I most humblye crave pardon, as for the rest of this my tedious petition. And thus, from the bottome of my harte, wissling to your majestie the longe contynuance of your most prosperous and godlye

reigne over vs, your most happie subjectes: as a most faythfull and obedient servaunt, I recommend myself, and service, to your most faythfull and obedient servaunt, I recommend myself, and service, to your most excellent majestie. From your highnes castell of Dublin, this xxviiith of April, 1576, your majesties faythfull, humble and obediaunt servaunt, H. Sydney.

Fitz-William having assumed the reins of government, with at least a tacit permission, to seize every opportunity of rewarding his pretended services at the expence of the Irish, soon found one to his taste. Several ships, belonging to the Spanish armada, had been driven to the coast of Ireland, where the Spaniards were hospitably entertained, as kinsmen. The strangers, it may be presumed, gave presents to their kind hosts, which were magnified by report into treasures. The bare rumour of these imaginary riches fired the cupidity of the deputy, who forthwith issued a commission for search, claiming what could be got, in the name of the queen. The commissioners for searching having failed in their inquest for hidden gold, Fitz-William, like the fox in the proverb, determined to seek in person the secreted love, and make trial of the powers of his olfactory nerves, in detecting by scent the produce of Potosi. Away he marched, at the head of an armed force, to the great expence of the state, and annoyance to the country; where all the exertions avidity could devise, and tyranny execute, having proved ineffectual, he resolved to wreak his disappointment on the hap-

less natives. Irish cows could not be so commodiously concealed as Spanish doubloons; why should not the former recompense the loss of the latter? That he might not return empty-handed, without performing any act of prowess worthy of his expensive expedition, he seized on Sir Owen Mac Toole, father-in-law to the earl of Tyrone, and Sir John O'Dogherty, gentlemen of rank, property, and known attachment to English government, and confined them in durance vile in the castle of Dublin. In vain they pleaded their services, and Mac Toole shew his patent for a pension of two hundred a-year (near two thousand of our present currency,) as tests of their loyalty; one was not released from bondage, till on the point of death, and O'Dogherty was obliged to purchase his enlargement by a considerable bribe of Irish cows.

This unworthy treatment of men, respected both by the English and Irish parties, drew on the barbarous deputy merited and general abhorrence. All the Irish lords, however, reputed, or in fact well affected to the English government, began to tremble for their own safety. Many began to repent of their submissions, and those who held aloof could now boast their superior prudence, which taught them to put no confidence in English faith, and to consider a watchful defensive the only safeguard against the ruthless oppression of a faithless and natural enemy.

This shameless violation of all law and public faith, by the government, and all its officers,

down to the sheriff, who, with his posse of strumpets and robbers, laid waste the country, outraging the feelings of a religious people, by openly violating the chastity of their wives and daughters, seasoning the atrocity of tyranny with the still more galling sauce of contempt, were sufficient to rouse a more lethargic, a less warlike people than the Milesians; but they were divided, three-fourths of the country lay prostrate, and the English power in Ireland had waxed formidable, through its own dissensions, and had the power of England ready at hand to support it. After the dispersion and defeat of the Spanish armada, Spain was no longer dreaded in England, and was looked to from Ireland with less sanguine hopes. Now Elizabeth's council, like the rest of their countrymen, entertaining a mean opinion of the Irish, judged the conquest of the remaining fourth of Ireland an easy task, having the other three fourths in their hands. The sentence of extermination, pronounced against the Milesians by their popish predecessors, facilitated and aided by their alliance with the see of Rome, it was now resolved should be put in execution, in despite of the Holy Father, and to gratify the hot zeal of the queen, for the extinction of the catholic faith, to which the antient Irish adhered with an obstinacy that rendered them detestable to her.

Because the experiments hitherto tried, on the patience of the suffering Irish, of vigor beyond law, of vigor contrary to all law, had not succeeded to rouse to war, more deeds of lawless

violence, sanctified by indemnity, must be employed, to exasperate the ulcerated feelings of discontent into the alarm and terror of despair. When submission afforded no security for life or property, and would be treated as cowardice; while the hazards of war, not more perilous, would at least rescue their honor from that imputation, perhaps free them for ever from a horrid yoke. These were the feelings, and the reasonings of the parties, concerned in this unequal contest, when the sanguinary rapacious wolf, Fitz-William, accelerated the pending catastrophe. “ And, as if the secret fire of disaffection were not sufficiently kindled in the northern province, Fitz-William by his intemperate conduct seemed to court every occasion of enflaming it. Mac-Mahon, chieftain of the district called Monaghan, had surrendered his country held by tainistry to the queen, and received a re-grant thereof, under the broad seal of England, to him and his heirs male, and in default of such heirs, to his brother Hugh. As he died without issue, this brother petitioned to be admitted to his inheritance. He is said to have promised a considerable bribe in order to facilitate his suit; and to his failure of payment it was imputed, that he was for some days imprisoned, on his arrival at Dublin. Fitz-William, however, was prevailed upon to promise that he would settle him in peaceable possession of his inheritance, and for this purpose that he meant to go in person into Monaghan. But scarcely had he arrived thither, when he eagerly received a new accusa-

tion against Hugh, that two years before, he had entered hostilely into a neighbouring district, to recover some rent due to him, by force of arms. In the unreformed parts of Ireland, such actions were common and unnoticed; but the English law declared them treasonable. The unhappy Mac-Mahon, for an offence committed before the law which declared it capital had been established in his country, was tried, condemned by a jury said to be formed of private soldiers, and executed in two days; to the utter consternation of his countrymen. His estate was distributed to Sir Henry Bagnal and other adventurers, together with four of the old Irish sept.”*

Why the northern Irish hitherto bore their aggravated wrongs, with a patience unusual to their race and country, besides the fore-mentioned, we must look to the policy of Hugh O’Neil, earl of Tyrone, as one who principally held back the north from any dangerous explosion. “Among the northern lords, Hugh, son to the late Matthew baron of Dungannon, had acquired considerable weight and consequence by the favours he had received from government. Though his person was not striking, he yet possessed a vigour of constitution fitted for all the severities of a military life. Less respected in his sept on account of the illegitimacy of his descent, he entered early into the service of English government, and in the rebellion of Desmond was distinguished by his industry, ac-

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. iii. p. 316.

tivity, and valour: by an English education, and a constant intercourse with the state, he added the polish of English manners to a temper naturally insinuating and subtle: but this refinement he could easily disguise among his own people, and assume all the port, and accommodate himself to all the barbarous manners of an O'Nial. In the parliament held by Sir John Perrot, he petitioned, that by virtue of the royal grant to his grandfather earl Conn, to his father and his heirs, he might be admitted to the place and title of earl of Tirowen, as well as to the inheritance annexed to this earldom. The title was readily granted; but for the inheritance, which by the attainder of John O'Nial was vested in the crown, he was referred to the queen's pleasure. He addressed himself to the deputy, and so far prevailed by his insinuating manners, and particularly by promising, that if restored to his estate, a large rent should be secured to the crown, that Perrot sent him into England with warm letters of recommendation, that he might prefer his petition to the queen. All his powers of obsequiousness and flattery were employed to captivate Elizabeth. She deigned to interrogate him on the state of Ireland. With an appearance of the most ingenuous zeal, he lamented the unnatural reluctance of his countrymen to order and civility, and their barbarous prepossessions in favour of their antient manners; artfully pleaded the necessity of strengthening their attachment to English government; and, affecting a particular solicitude for the

welfare of his own district, implored her majesty to take effectual measures for suppressing the name of O'Nial, as the first step necessary for introducing the inestimable blessings of English laws and manners into the northern province. This artifice so wrought upon the queen, that by letters patent under the great seal of England, she granted him both the earldom and the inheritance annexed to it, without any reservation of rent. It was only provided, that the bounds of Tirowen should be marked out explicitly: that two hundred and forty acres should be reserved adjoining to the river called Blackwater, for the use of a fort there to be erected: that the new earl should challenge no authority over the neighbouring lords: that the sons of John and Tirlaugh O'Nial should have sufficient provisions allotted to them: and that Tirlaugh should be continued Irish chieftain of Tirowen, with a right of superiority over Mac-Guire and O'Cahan, two subordinate lords (or Uriaghts as they are called) of his neighbourhood.*

As a man of ability, he saw the delicacy of his situation, and the difficult part he had to act. Owing his elevation to the policy of the court of England, aware of the downfall of Shane O'Neil, and of almost all the chiefs, who had latterly opposed that power; sensible, that the same anarchy, which overwhelmed Shane, by a combination of northern chiefs joining the standard of his enemy, he saw it his interest to culti-

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. iii. pp. 306, 307, 308.

vate and purchase the friendship of that power, upon any tolerable terms; any that would not entirely sink him in the estimation of his countrymen, and deprive him of the lead to which he aspired; an event that would deprive him of the favor of a court, which meant only to employ his abilities and influence instrumental to its own designs. He had two incompatible interests to manage. That of the northern Irish, who daily experienced such violent aggressions from government, as seemed to announce a settled plan for their total extirpation; and that of the exterminating power, which, though it chose to employ him, gave him abundant proof, that it did not trust him, and meant to devour him, perhaps last. In all his trials, and he had severe ones, he acted with great judgment, and cool steady resolution, confounding his enemies, and bringing home conviction to the queen, her council, and her generals, by facts and arguments, which they were unable to withstand. What a callous-minded wretch a Pale writer must be. All that persuasion, by which he triumphed over his adversaries and judges,—and what judges! the most subtle able knaves of their day, and partial too, must be the effect of subtlety and dissimulation!!! What simpletons he had to delude with subtleties, in Bacon, Cecil, Walsingham; in Perrot, Norris, Russel, Essex, all cotemporaries, interested in the detection of falsehood, and possessed of all human means for its discovery. If he could convince all these men, without truth and justice on his side,

he must have been more eloquent than all orators. In fact, he strove to keep the peace of the north, as long as it could be kept, without sacrificing his religion, and the interests of the north-erns; which would cause a general alienation of all hearts from him, and degrade him to a vile satellite of tyranny, despised even by those whom he served.

O'Neil's great services, and his perseverance in the queen's service, as long as it was in any degree supportable; his eagerness to continue in the same, and fence against the scourge of war, are clearly set forth by a confidential agent of the queen, commissioned to send her a true statement of this country, who says, that "it is not O'Donnell, Maguire, Brian Oge Macmahon, nor Brian Oge O'Rourke, nor any of those four who must be dealt withal, for they are all traitors and villains, and most obstinate against your majesty; but the foundation must be laid upon the earl of Tyrone, to draw him by any reasonable conditions unto your majesty, that you may have conference with him, and as he is made by your majesty a great man there, so may he be also a special good member in that commonwealth, to redress and remedy many great disorders, which no doubt he would faithfully do, if he might be trusted, for what maketh a man honest but trust.

"And whereas some affirm, that he standeth upon a pardon for himself and his followers, I think not so, for he and they hold themselves in less safety thereby, than they were before, because

they have seen pardons serve (in their conceit) rather for traps to catch others in, than for true and just remission and acceptance into the free benefit of subjects, which maketh him fear the like practice towards himself....

“ And where there was a credible report made, that the earl of Tyrone came into the now lord deputy, without pardon or protection, I assure myself, your majesty shall find he came in upon the credit of your state, although in policy he might be willed to give out otherwise, and no doubt, but such as have often mistaken his actions, and intents, would make an open demand of him, how? and he perhaps answer them, without protection; and upon this his answer, they might be very importunate with the lord deputy and the council, that he might be detained for great matters of treason, wherewith they had to charge him, which demand of theirs being refused, it is not unlike but they would either write to your majesty, or to their friends here, to inform your majesty how provident they were to have him safe kept, and yet their cares and offers were neglected.

“ Let those devices of theirs take effect, or otherwise, to have him cut off, your majesty's whole kingdom there would moan it most pitifully; for there was never man bred in those parts, who hath done your majesty greater service than he, with often loss of his blood upon notable enemies of your majesty's; yea, more often than all the other nobles of Ireland. And what quietness your majesty had these many years

past in the northern parts of that kingdom, its neither your forces there placed, (which have been but small,) nor their great service who commanded them, but only the honest disposition and carriage of the earl, hath made them obedient in those parts to your majesty. And what pity it is that a man of his worth and worthiness shall be thus dealt withal by his adversaries, (who are men who have had great places of commandment) and neither they, nor their friends for them, are able to set down they ever did your majesty one good day's service, I humbly leave to your majesty.

“ If he were so bad as they would fain enforce (as many as know him and the strength of his country, will witness thus much with me) he might very easily cut off many of your majesty's forces which are laid in garrison in small troops, in divers parts bordering upon his country; yea, and overrun all your English pale, to the utter ruin thereof; yea, and camp as long as he should please him even under the walls of Dublin, for any strength your majesty yet hath in that kingdom to remove him.

“ These things being considered, and how unwilling he is (upon my knowledge) to be otherwise toward your majesty than he ought, let him (if it so please your highness) be somewhat hearkened unto, and recovered (if it may be) to come in unto your majesty to impart his own griefs, which no doubt he will do, if he will like his security. And then, I am persuaded, he will simply acknowledge to your majesty how

far he hath offended you; and besides (notwithstanding his protection) he will, if it so stand with your majesty's pleasure, offer himself to the marshal (who hath been the chiefest instrument against him) to prove with his sword that he hath most wrongfully accused him. And because it is no conquest for him to overthrow a man ever held in the world to be of most cowardly behaviour, he will, in defence of his innocency, allow his adversary to come armed against him naked, to encourage him the rather to accept of his challenge.

“ I am bold to say thus much for the earl, because I know his valour, and am persuaded he will perform it; and what I have spoken of him, over and above this, these reasons have led me to it.

“ Being often his bedfellow, he hath divers times bemoaned himself, with tears in his eyes, saying, if he knew any way in the world to behave himself (otherwise than he hath done) to procure your majesty's assured good opinion of him, he would not spare (if it pleased you to command him) to offer himself to serve your highness in any part of the world against your enemies, though he were sure to lose his life.

“ And as he hath in private thus bemoaned himself unto me, so are there many eye-witnesses here in your highness's court, who have seen him do no less openly; which tears have neither proceeded from dissimulation, nor of a childish disposition, (for all who know him will acquit him thereof,) but of meer zeal unto your high-

ness, and grief and fear to lose your favour, whom he desireth with life, and all he hath, most dutifully and loyally to serve....

“ Your majesty, since you were queen, never had so great cause to bethink you of the service of that place [the north] as now you have. Your highness shall not get so great honour in cutting off him, and thousands of those bare people that follow him, as you shall to win him and them, to be good and loyal subjects, and to live and serve your highness, for good offices. As the case now standeth with the earl, he hath small encouragements to be otherwise than now he is.

“ For where it was your majesty’s pleasure he should have great encouragement given him, by thanks for his last good service against Maguire, it was held from him, and instead of that, they devised all means and policies to aggravate matters against him to your majesty, which is credibly made known unto him; and more, that upon what security soever he should come in, your majesty’s pleasure is to have him detained.”

To him government was obliged to look, for the support of its authority in the northern province, which their enormities rendered every day more detestable, for restraining discontents, which they were multiplying by unlimited spoliations, insults, and perfidious murders. It is not wonderful, that a brave man, endowed with uncommon vigour of mind and body, should shed tears, at the awful prospect of ruin impend-

* Lee’s Memorial to queen Elizabeth.

ing over the remains of a once flourishing nation, the means of averting which were so doubtful. The way of submission, and cultivating the countenance of Elizabeth, he pursued zealously and frankly, for many years; serving in her majesty's armies, at his own heavy charge, exposed to all the hardships and perils of a military life. Yet all that time he experienced little thanks or rewards for his services. Experience taught him, that popery was a state crime, against which Elizabeth was inexorable; and, that his fostering seminaries, i. e. permitting or patronizing schools for the education of youth in the catholic religion, and especially for holy orders, effaced all the merits of his loyalty with a queen at internecine war with pope and popery. Conscious of the secret practices of his enemies against him, at the court of England, and shunning the violent outrages of the deputy, whom he might easily have crushed, he determined to repair to London, and lay a statement of his own case, and the grievances of his neighbouring territories, before the queen and the privy council, to whom he justified his own conduct. Leland says, " he had departed without licence from the deputy, and was therefore at first restrained of his liberty; but such was the well-dissembled zeal of his submission and humility, that the offence was soon pardoned, and the earl admitted before the privy council, to give such assurance of his future loyalty as should be demanded. He agreed to find sureties for his good behaviour, with the addition of hostages to be delivered to the Irish

deputy, and to be exchanged once in three months. The principal articles which he was thus bound to perform were, to continue loyal and peaceable; to renounce all Irish sovereignty and Irish customs; and to promote the establishment of English laws and manners in his district; to give no aid to the queen's enemies; to hold no correspondence with foreign traitors; to maintain no monks or friars; not to meddle with spiritual livings; to levy no forces without licence of the state; to keep his troop of fifty horse in the queen's pay complete; and to be ever ready on a general hosting to attend the royal standard; to supply the garrison of Blackwater with provisions at a reasonable price; to impose no exactions but by commission from the state; and to execute no criminals but by licence of martial law. The articles which restrained him in the exercise of Irish sovereignty, were, at his representations of the equity and necessity of it, ordered to be imposed on the chieftains of his neighbourhood also. He readily and cheerfully acquiesced in every requisition; and the earl of Ormond and Sir Christopher Hatton became sureties for his performance.

“ Scarcely had this accommodation been concluded, when the sons of John O’Nial, who envied and dreaded the rising power of Tyrone, made a bold attempt to effect his ruin. Hugh, a bastard son of John, surnamed *Ne-Clavlocke*, or the Fettered, from the circumstance of his being born in the captivity of his mother, was commissioned to repair to the court of England.

and there to accuse the earl of several articles of treason, particularly of having entered into secret negotiations with Spain, by means of those Spaniards who had been shipwrecked on his coast. Tirone affected to treat this accusation with contempt; he imputed it to the enmity which his countrymen had conceived against him from his attachment to the queen; and observed, that he who had advised the total suppression of the name of O’Nial never could be forgiven by that haughty sept. Thus converting this charge into a proof of his merits, he so wrought upon the council, that the accuser was neglected, and the earl permitted to return to Ireland. His promises and assurances of fulfilling his engagements were renewed to the lord deputy; but when pressed to execute his indentures in due form, he artfully replied, that all his neighbouring lords stood equally engaged with him, and that when they were ready to appear before the state, and enter into the necessary securities, he should be found equally prepared; but to execute his indentures singly, while they continued free, were only to expose his country to their lawless depredations; and to deprive himself of all power of defence.”*

Why Leland should stile his contempt of an accusation, ascribed by himself, a few lines before, to the envy of John O’Nial’s sons, dreading his rising power? ’Tis of a piece with the affectation, and false colouring, that infect his

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iii. p. 315.

whole history, which by blending truth and fiction, discolouring the compound with false daubing, exhibit a caricature, not a true picture of the times. His confidence in his own integrity, and his punctuality to his engagements, must have been well assured, before he would throw himself into the power of those, who were prodigal of Irish blood, never scrupling any means of shedding it; or venture to a place where every Irishman could view a memento of his fate, on beholding the heads of Desmond, O'Rourke, &c. impaled on London-bridge. What is the *artful* reply? Merely, a very true and just one. Leland must have considered the public, for which he wrote, a pack of foolish unreflecting ideots; or he would not venture to amuse them with his artful, affected misapplication of terms. Talking of the escape of O'Donnel, chieftain of Tyrconnel, Tyrone's son-in-law, from a treacherous captivity and bondage in Dublin castle, he says, "however this may be, the hostages effected their escape, and some proceeded directly, and without any difficulty, to their own country. Hugh O'Donnel, and Arthur, a youth of the family of O'Nial, being hotly pursued, fled for immediate shelter to some of the Irish septs in the neighbourhood of the capital; and gained a miserable retreat in the dreary season of the year; where their friends, terrified by the queen's troops, left them for some days, to struggle with the miseries of cold and hunger; and when they at length ventured to their relief, found the young O'Nial expiring with famine, and Hugh O'Done-

nel deprived of his limbs, by the severity of cold, lamenting over his companion. He was harboured, attended, and restored. He regained his country with an implacable detestation of the English power, sharpened by the recollection of his sufferings; and was soon after invested with the Irish chieftainry of Tirconnel, on the resignation of his father; so as to be thus enabled to give a freer course to his resentment.”*

A hostage is a person delivered to a conqueror, as a guarantee for the fulfilment of a treaty, not to be chained in a loathsome dungeon, but treated honorably. Never before did I see the term applied to a kidnapped child. Behold Leland's kidnapped hostage; from his own account of the faithless capture of young O'Donnel, by the artifice of deputy Perrot, in page 479. Lee, with the conscience of a true-born Englishman, allows the kidnapping of Irish children, especially those of great lords, to be good and commendable; but condemns the inhuman treatment of kidnapped O'Donnel; for he says, “When there hath been a stratagem used for the taking into your majesty's hands a young * youth, the heir of a great country, by whose taking his whole country would have been held in obedience, the practice whereof was most good and commendable; yet (after the obtaining of him) his manner of usage was most dishonourable and discommendable, and neither allowable before God

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. iii. p. 316.

† The earl of Tyrconnel.

nor man.”* As it fared with the man-mountain in the kingdom of Liliput, fresh accusations against Tyrone. He was married to Bagnal's sister; he seduced her affections; his daughter was married to O'Donnel; he strengthened himself by an alliance; he put his accuser, Hugh na Ngabhloe, to death, an act of sovereignty. “ But Tirone who still found it necessary to dissemble, declared that his alliance with O'Donnel was intended merely to keep him firm to his allegiance, that the outrages which Tirlaugh had suffered were the consequences of his own lawless violence; that far from seducing the sister of Sir Henry Bagnal, she had freely consented to become his consort, and that he was equally at liberty to accept her, as he had been regularly divorced from his former wife. He accused his brother-in-law of usurping an authority in Ulster, inconsistent with his just rights, but at the same time artfully requested the lord's of her majesty's council to prevail on Bagnal to be reconciled to him, that they might live as kinsmen and neighbours, and concur amicably in the service of government. To give these professions a greater air of sincerity, he admitted his country to be formed into a shire, and divided into baronies after the English model. The northern province, which harboured the most pestilent disaffection, now seemed reduced and pacified; and government found leisure to attend to no other districts of the island. A composition for purveyance was esta-

* Lee's Memorial.

lished in Munster for three years; and the queen, flattered by finding every province of Ireland at length consenting to contribute in this manner, to the augmentation of her revenue.”*

Dissemble.—A man of sound ability, endowed with such policy as the Doctor imputes to Hugh O’Nial, might cordially and seriously wish for peace with English power, almost on any terms; considering the relative situation of both parties. Weakness and disunion on one side; power, wealth, and concord, on the other. Prudence would direct him to dissemble his resentments, to justify his conduct, and seek to ward off the insidious manœuvres of the sanguinary wolves, who thirsted for Irish blood and plunder, by every conciliatory resource of submission and accommodation. *Artfully.*—To request the interference of an umpire, towards a reconciliation with a brother-in-law, would appear a very innocent, nay, a humane and christian artifice. The northern province, which harboured the most *pestilent disaffection*.—Yes, in common with the rest of Ireland, it harboured the pestiferous monsters, whose excessive cruelties, treasons, and perfidies, wanton and brutal lust, would excite commotion and civil war in the most peaceable and best established kingdom in the world. Did England bear the thousandth part of such outrages, when it rose against Charles I. and James II. Did Switzerland, when it rose against Austria? Did America, an English colony? The insults

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. iii. pp. 318. 319.

offered her, compared to the accumulated wrongs, and inhuman oppressions, heaped on the Irish, during upwards of four centuries, would weigh but as a barley-corn against the globe. Why did they not resist sooner, and more efficaciously? Because if they were disaffected to their common tyrants, they were still more disaffected to each other. Their pride, that hereditary malady, which sticks to their degraded posterity, even in rags; their mutual jealousies, and vindictive spirit of perpetuating old family quarrels, kept them asunder. In the stile of the English court and law, they are emphatically called, the Irish enemy. In their own language, they deserve that title still better; for they proved the most mortal enemies to each other, who gloried and delighted in cutting each other down; as it shall appear in this last war ever undertaken in defence of national independence and liberty of conscience. They were not Englishmen, but the hands and arms of Irishmen, who cut down the Irish. The English, unable to sustain the severities of Irish warfare, were dropping like rotten sheep; but Irish catholics were found in abundance, to repair these losses, and bear the brunt and havoc. The Irish were not only vindictive, but very corruptible. Many chieftains and leaders were bought with English gold. David Hume relates, that Elizabeth expended six hundred thousand pounds in six months on the Irish war: an enormous sum in those days, whether we consider the relative value of currency, or the comparative resources of England at these different periods.

The queen was so exhausted by these sacrifices, that she sold the crown jewels and royal demesnes; one leading step to the overthrow of the monarchy, and her new church, under her successors. The Irish bards were not neglected in the distribution. These possessed considerable influence on the public mind, somewhat like the orators at Athens. As Philip had always one or other of these in pay, so Bess hired bards to revive old rivalries. Among these venal revivers of almost forgotten animosities, Teag mac Daire holds a distinguished rank. Taking up an old poem of Torna Eiges, in which the pre:eminence of the north over the south is expressly affirmed, he undertook its refutation. The northern bards, unaware of the plot, gave into the bait, and espoused the political maxims of Torna Eiges. The controversy continued some years, and contributed, as far as bardic influence reached, to rekindle and inflame the animosities of the north and south. Which of the bards wrote best or worst; which maintained the right or wrong position, was matter of great indifference to the instigators of this poetic warfare. It was enough, that it served the English interest.

All Ireland being pretty well civilized by depopulating devastations, Mr. Leland introduces the foundation of Trinity College, as an interlude between the tragical scenes, that covered this country with ruins, bathed the soil with the best blood of its inhabitants, converting it, literally, into an Haceldama, field of blood, a catacomb of mangled carcasses. A source of civility and

refinement indeed ! After destroying all the seminaries of learning in the kingdom, and prohibiting men, by penalties of fine, imprisonment, torture and death, to be taught the only religion they would be taught ; deprived of instruction in their own native language, the only tongue understood by the great majority, and, consequently, the only one through which they could then receive civility and refinement, the institution of a single school, and that partial, for the exclusive benefit of a sect, leaves no great room to a nation for boasting of civilization and refinement. The foundation of a learned seminary must be allowed useful ; but many circumstances obscure the lustre of this establishment. We see no traces of royal munificence, nurturing its infancy, unless a sheet of parchment, with a seal appended to it. If, from the immense plunder of churches and monasteries, a scrap of one, called Allhallow's, erected by the adulterous harbinger of his country's destroyers, was granted by the citizens of Dublin for this purpose, it will not seem a violent effort of liberality. The popish English settlers far exceeded this measure of retribution : for, after destroying two or three monasteries, possessed by natives, as a recompence to God and religion, and " to strengthen us," they gave one to monks of English birth or blood. Were that seminary destined for the improvement of the nation, it might be boasted as a source of civility. Alas, it was far from that just and humane policy. It was erected for the narrow purposes of a sect, to propagate that religious innovation, aptly

stiled by lord Clare, the “pestilent bane” of Ireland. The great mass of the natives were still reduced to languish in ignorance at home, or seek education abroad. A more enlightened policy has happily since prevailed, and rendered this university, what every similar institution should be, a national benefit.

Melodious lyre of Innisfail, strike mournful notes. The heroes, who delighted in thy festive notes, and cherished thy muse, are hastening to the last act of the fatal tragedy, which closes with their utter overthrow, saddened by calamities unequalled, by desolation and ruin seldom inflicted by human beings; never, before or since, by people professing christianity on their fellow christians. A nation, patriarchal, in its recorded antiquity, in its constitution, laws, manners and customs, is on the point of extermination; or, if a remnant is to survive slaughter and famine, 'tis only to irretrievable degradation. The monuments of their genius, in poetry, music, physic and philosophy, are devoted to perish. Their language, one of the most elegant, certainly the most copious and interesting in the world, is to be suppressed, by worse than Gothic barbarians. The religion, taught by St. Patrick, and professed, when he taught, by the whole christian world, is to be persecuted, its professors are to endure every sort of punishment, in their persons, properties, and posterity; in their rights, as men and citizens, for ages. The party scribblers, who have laboured to disfigure the transactions of these days, with the coloured

gas of fiction and deception, partly prejudice, partly voluntary misrepresentation, have called the resistance of the northerns, rebellions. Yes: if unsuccessful war be rebellion. Washington, defeated, would hang as a rebel. Is resistance never lawful? Are we to admit passive obedience, and non-resistance, as a sacred maxim? If so, the reformation stands convicted from its birth; as it consisted in opposition to the established authorities. The reformers would every where be condemned, on the same principle; for they conspired the downfall of church and state, wherever they could venture on the experiment. If resistance to lawless tyranny be ever justifiable, the northern Irish cannot be impeached of rashness or unwarrantable resistance. First, they were not subjects, in the whole latitude of that word; but were governed by their own laws, and by the legitimate, recognized authority of their native princes, acknowledging, merely, such feudal obedience to the crown of England, as their progenitors paid to their own monarchs; with whom, to wage war, was not rebellion in an Irish chieftain; or as the electors and princes of Germany did homage to the emperor, against whom they might make war, without being denominated or treated as rebels. Were they even subjects, in every sense of the word, the tyranny exercised over them was so cruel, perfidious, and worse than inhuman; carried on with such audacity of insult, such contemptuous insolence, such revolting defiance of all law, human and divine, with such undisguised views of extra-re-

nation and extinction of religion, as sanctified resistance by every sanction that God conferred on man, as a rational, moral and religious being, member of a civilized and religious society, whose government should be ruled by the eternal principles of moral justice, charity and beneficence. A government, which studied not the happiness, but the destruction of the people, which protected neither persons, nor property, but violated both with persevering constancy, not caring to hide its intention of rooting out its antient inhabitants; a government of professed murderers, plunderers, bible-mad, persecuting demoniacs, deserved neither respect or obedience, but the vengeance of God and man, which it grievously and hourly provoked. Allowed, that these frantic fanatics made no improvement in tyranny, treachery or cruelty, that were not practised by their popish predecessors, some of whose atrocities they did not even equal. But, besides that recrimination is no justification, the English papists of birth and blood, persecuted not protestants, but papists, as Irishmen; and as such they smarted, under the crushing destructive yoke of insolent taskmasters; who, in all the transmutations of their faith and policy, in the phrenzy of revolution, religious innovation, rebellion, or in the calm security of peaceful settlement, wealth and dominion, had not abated the hatred they bore to the unfortunate slaves who tilled this fair island for their emolument.

What law was not violated? Protection and

obedience are reciprocal. The law of England neither protected an Irishman's life, nor avenged his death. This is attested by Sir John Temple, who, in his History of the Irish Rebellion, p. 7, states, "Those that were adventurers in the first conquests (of Ireland), and such other of the English nation as came over afterwards, took possession, by virtue of former grants, of the whole kingdom, drove the Irish, in a manner, out of all the habitable parts of it, and settled themselves in all the plains and fertile places of the country, especially in the chief towns, ports, and sea-coasts. It was no capital offence to kill any of the rest of the (non-enfranchised) Irish; the law did neither protect their life, nor revenge their death." "It was not till the 12th of James I. ann. 1614, that the Irish were considered as subjects; for then an act was made in the Irish parliament, declaring, that the natives of Irish blood were in several statutes and records called Irish enemies, and accordingly abridged of the benefit of the laws, but that being then taken into his majesty's gracious protection under one law, as dutiful subjects--those laws of distinction and difference were wholly abrogated."* Public faith broken, is attested by Lee, in his Memorial to queen Elizabeth, for he says, that "the Irish, who have once offended, live they never so honestly afterwards, if they grow into wealth, are sure to be cut off by one indirect means or other." Of

* Borlase Reduct. of Ireland. p. 188.

this he gives the following melancholy instance. “ In one of her majesty’s civil shires, there lived an Irishman peaceably and quietly as a good subject, many years together, whereby he grew into great wealth; which his landlord thirsting after, and desirous to remove him from his land, entered into practice with the sheriff of the shire to dispatch this simple man, and divide his goods between them. Whereupon they sent one of his own servants for him, and he coming with him, they presently took his man and hanged him, and keeping the master prisoner, they went immediately to his dwelling, and shared his substance, which was of great value, between them, turning his wife and many children to begging. After they had kept him (the master) fast for a season with the sheriff, they carried him to the castle of Dublin, where he lay by the space of two or three terms, and he having no matter objected against him, whereupon to be tried by law, they by their credit and countenance (being both English gentlemen, and he, who was the landlord, the chiefest man in the shire) informed the lord deputy so hardly of him, as that, without indictment or trial, they executed him; to the great scandal of her majesty’s state, and the impeachment of her laws. Yet this, and the like exemplary justice (adds he) is ministered to your majesty’s poor subjects there.”* The massacres of Mullah-maisteen, Derry, Kilkenny, Dublin, Waterford, &c. the perfidious engage-

* Lee’s Memorial.

ment of the public faith procured the opportunity, and its unprincipled breach accomplished the murder of unsuspecting loyalty. In fact, the principle invariably acted on was, that no faith was to be kept with the Irish. Like the Mahometans towards the Christians; no peace with the Irish enemy, only a cessation of arms, to wait a more favourable juncture for forwarding the plan of extermination. Was private faith more respected? Witness the murderous invitations to bloody banquets... O'Brien, Kavanagh, O'Neil, Fitzgerald's, by the deputy, thence to England, the tower, the scaffold, the spike. The breach of faith towards the Irish was so common, that mistrust of Englishmen, whether by birth or blood, except those who degenerated from the common perfidy, to more honourable native principles, passed into a proverb, *Na dean comamle fear Gall, &c.* Form no partnership with an alien; if you do, woe be to you, always on the watch to deceive; behold alien partnership with you.

No greater or more flagrant violation of public and private faith has been recorded, than those practised under pretence of introducing English law and civilization among the Irish. English law was to be introduced by miscreants, whom every law would sentence to the gallows; robbers, thieves, prostitutes, vagabonds equally profligate and impious; and they were diligent in the practice of their several professions, to procure the love and attachment of the natives to novel institutions, by plundering, murdering, ravishing

females, pillaging the sacred utensils from churches and altars, worthy missionaries of a propaganda of immorality and impiety. These able contrivers of evil rightly judged, that profligacy of manners, and general corruption, would be accompanied by a decay of religion, and facilitate access to strange doctrines ; hence their endeavours to spread the pestilent infection among the natives ; or excessive tyranny, steeled against every principle of conscience or remorse, of right and wrong ; devoid of the fear of God, as of all human feelings ; copper-sheath fronted against every impression of shame or decency ; of the public opinion of the present or future generations, that would let loose on the public, and licence a nefarious gang of freebooters, for whom the jail or the gallows would be too mild a destination, to put them to live on free quarters, and take, as the reward of their crimes, the plunder of an unhappy people, whose religion and morality were shocked and scandalized, at scenes of debauchery, cruelty, and unutterable abominations, exhibited by these fiends to their astonished senses, such as they never witnessed, nor could conceive possible.

If human nature revolted, as it necessarily must, if any resistance was made, to this odious, base, filthy prostitution of ruffian tyranny, run mad with the fumes boiling furiously from Beelzebub's hottest cauldron, inflaming their greedy thirst for blood, plunder, and the diffusion of impiety and profligacy, traitors proclaimed, confiscations, massacres, &c. &c. Wherever these

detestable locusts appeared, terror and dismay seized the inhabitants; tumults and insurrection unavoidably followed, and drew in their train military execution. Hence, Maguire, being asked by the deputy, if he would admit a sheriff into his country, replied, yes; but tell me his price, that, if any of my people kill him, I may levy it on the country. Sensible, that the worse than brutal excesses, perpetrated by these ministers of rapine, and impudent abandoned vice, would provoke retaliation. Dreading the evils of such a visitation, he compounded with the deputy for a precarious respite, paying him three hundred cows, on condition of not sending a sheriff into his country, during the remainder of his deputyship; which might not be a year, perhaps not a month. But exemption from so dreadful a calamity for a year, even for a month, was considered a blessing worth the purchase. Fitzwilliam took the cows, but, with the usual good faith of Englishmen in their dealings with the Irish, he sent the notorious captain Willis, with his gang of licenced felons and freebooters, to prey on Fermanagh, and astonish the affrighted inhabitants, with the strange and woeful experience of their lewd excesses, and diabolical practices. The misfortunes, foreboded by Maguire, come to pass. The cries and resentment of the victims reached his ears. He was eye-witness of the infamies and scandals, committed. He obeyed his nature, heard the cry of suffering humanity, rose on the ruffians, cooped them up in a church, where an indignant outraged people would have

executed summary and merited justice, if the miscreants had not been saved by the interposition of Tyrone, on condition of departing out of the country. Maguire was proclaimed a traitor. The queen's forces were marched against him; who, in conjunction with Tyrone's forces, defeated him and his allies, and took his castle of Enniskillen. In this action Tyrone was wounded in the thigh; and, instead of thanks, he was given to understand, that he too was mentioned in the catalogue of traitors; on which he separated from the English army, and visited no longer the deputy or general, alledging apprehensions of treachery, which appear to have been well grounded.—See pp. 449, 500, 501, 502.

Hugh O'Neil, long dissatisfied with the treatment he experienced from the Irish government, unable to rely on the promises of the British cabinet, whose wily politics seemed influenced by caprice, alternately declaring for and against him, but at bottom determined to use him as an instrument for their designs on the remnant of the antient race and religion, could see neither honor or safety in the terms, on which he served her majesty hitherto. He saw, that the avidity of adventurers, who preyed on three provinces, was not yet sated, but coveted a fourth; and, that in quest of plunder there could be no dearth of new comers. The danger now approached his own door. M'Mahon had fallen by English perfidy, and Orgial became their booty. He had himself aided them in the reduction of Maguire, and Fermanagh fell into their hands, with its prin-

principal fort, Enniskillen. Who was next to be assailed, but O'Donnel or himself? A similar pretext, of declaring them traitors, as served against Maguire, was always at hand. Some scoundrel, like Willis, Conel, Fuller, &c. might be sent, with an infamous crew of vagabonds and strumpets, to civilize Tyrone and Tyrconnel, and resistance, treason. What the Milesians endured, whithersoever English power extended, spoke strong warning of his own fate. Religion, too, was in danger of perishing in the wreck; a matter of no secondary moment to any man, much less to a wise statesman. What perils awaited the catholic faith were visible, from the persecution it was crushed with in England.* Some English general affirmed, that Tyrone had no more religion than his horse; but, besides that the relation of an enemy is not incautiously admissible, his toleration, or even courtesy to the new faith, argued no indifference to his own, but the liberality of a mind enlightened beyond his age. The preservation of the catholic church, in its rights and immunities, within the limits of his jurisdiction; his encouragement of seminaries, afford no proof of indifference. Policy might have prompted some affectation of zeal on declaring himself a champion of the faith but to attribute the whole of his religious conduct to that inferior consideration, is not equitable.

After maturely weighing the extreme peril of the enterprize, Tyrone resolved to pass the

* See ut supra. p. 441. 455

Rubicon, and raise the sword against a tyranny, at once terrible, base, odious and perfidious. The power of the English had grown colossal in distracted Ireland. Three fourths of the land yielded resources, in men and means, to his enemies, supported by the money, sea and land forces of England. To balance these odds, he could barely expect the co-operation of a few partizans; such as Tyrrell, Feadh mac Hugh, O'Byrne, Pierce Lacey, to make diversions in other parts, while the north must sustain the main brunt of war. Succours were promised by Spain, wishing to avenge the assistance given by Elizabeth to the revolted Netherlands, and to the Hugonots, against the catholic League of France, in alliance. But effectual assistance could not soon be expected, from a power, slow in council, tardy in execution, involved in the civil wars of France, and in war with the Netherlands and England.

Beside these motives for a prudent hesitation in declaring his intention, considerations of a domestic nature occurred, to postpone his manifestation of hostile designs. Sensible of the slender tie that bound the obedience of the chieftains to a provincial king, and how easily they might be detached, by the revival of antient animosities, or by the weighty argument of an English subsidy, it was sound policy to await, until oppression, added to insult, had forced them to commit themselves with English power so deeply, as to look to no private accommodation with it.

Fitzwilliam, after provoking discontent and insurrection in so many places, by every species

of cruelty, that avarice, tyranny and religious persecution could contrive, like a coward, as he was, dreading the commotions he had excited, petitioned to be recalled from a scene of conflagration, after kindling the wisp, loaded with the spoils and curses of a plagued people.* Why so odious and oppressive a tyrant was so long continued as deputy, to scourge and flay the suffering Irish, was best known to his employers, sufficiently informed of his criminal and dishonourable conduct to the natives. The counsels of those, who wished for insurrection and confiscations, emboldened by a national and deceitful contempt for the power of the northerns, prevailed; and the anti-catholic zeal of the queen flattered her with the hope of speedily extinguishing the catholic faith in Ireland, by the conquest of the north, the only part of Ireland that could seriously oppose its suppression. What must have been their astonishment and disappointment, at the first military essays of O'Donnel, and the energy displayed by the northerns, in the course of this seven year's war; during which they were often victorious, over the utmost exertion of English power, aided by half Ireland; and often seemed on the point of chasing English power from the land.

On the arrival of the new deputy, Sir John Russel, O'Neil appeared at the Irish court, and gave satisfactory reasons for keeping aloof, during the latter part of Fitzwilliam's deputyship.

* See Lee's Memorial.—Appendix.

Satisfactory it seems they proved, to the Anglo-Irish council, who, in spite of the malicious accusations of his mortal enemy, Bagnal, rejected the advice of breaking the public faith, pledged to him, by detaining him prisoner. Reasons, which satisfied cotemporaries and enemies, possessed of every means of information, confronted with the accusations of a neighbouring, powerful and mortal enemy, ought, one would suppose, content a modern writer of history, if not warped from candour and truth, by party prejudice. Even had Tyrone so long cloaked real disaffection to English government, under the mask of loyalty; and sought to train and arm his followers, under pretence of serving the queen, he would only have imitated the successful policy of prince Maurice of Saxony, in the service of Charles V. in his war against the protestants of Germany. If dissimulation be commendable, to protect the religion and independence of German protestants, against the encroachments of their feudal sovereign, why must it be wicked and detestable, in the service of Irish catholics, against the more violent assaults of a power not less limited. None but one infected with the false logic of party prejudice, would make any distinction between two cases, perfectly similar, without any the least shade of difference, except solely in the issue; one being crowned by success, the other disgraced by defeat.

I cannot proceed further, without some animadversions on the indecent and impudent libel, published by David Hume, in the fifth volume

of his history of England, on the inhabitants of this country. Was it for Hottentots or Englishmen, he vented this volley of scurrilous abuse, teeming with ignorance, nauseating with vulgarity of invective, disgusting by the rancour of impotent malignity? His account is either true or false. If the first, the English have been the most barbarous of invaders; for it shall be proved, that Ireland was highly civilized before their arrival. If the latter, 'tis a signed death-warrant of their moral character. If every account of Ireland, published for English readers, is sure of procuring reputation and profit to the author, just in proportion as it violates truth, for libellous defamation, and shocking caricatures of men and manners, what an abominable race, to harbour misanthropy, such infernal hatred, towards a people, whose population and soil are such great sources of their opulence and power. To this worrying backbiter, as a hound of the same kennel, may be applied my former stricture on his fellow calumniator. Every English dabbler in literature, since Gerald Barry, thinks himself authorized, by the destruction of our records, to publish fictions, however incredible, concerning the terra australis incognita of our history. Their historians are gravely employed to publish historical lies against this country. Not a paltry compilation can be published, under the title of gazetteer, geography, or gazette, but must mangle and disfigure the name and character of Ireland. But people are not to be credited to our disadvantage, who demonstrated their abhorrence of

truth, and their enmity to historical monuments, in diligently robbing us of our records and manuscripts of every kind; as far as their utmost power and influence could reach, using their best endeavours to destroy all remembrance of past events, that they might be at liberty to publish their own malicious forgeries, without fear of detection. The monuments of Irish genius are scattered to the wind; the records and memorials of our fame dispersed or destroyed; the memory of the illustrious dead, and the character of the living, are equally insulted; we are stript bare, and then reproached with our poverty; we have been deprived of education, and then reproached with our ignorance; our colleges, that abounded with learning, and learned men, who enlightened Europe, our seminaries of physic, poetry, music, &c. were suppressed, and their scientific labours destroyed or carried off, and we are insultingly told, that our ancestors were barbarians; we have been deprived of our manufactures, and the means of employing and feeding our people, and they are reproached with laziness! Like a wreck drifted by the storm to a barbarous inhospitable shore, our spoils are become the prey of the robber and the thief. One set runs away with our saints, another snatches our doctors, and learned men; many are the filchers of our music, which like base plagiarists, they publish in their own names, witness Hooker's *Voice of Love*, and *Along*, &c. Our poets and heroes cannot escape them, and a puny Caledonian attempted to run away with our mighty Fion and his grandson Ossian; but the

wight proved too feeble for the load; stung at the disappointment, the cunning Scotchman made wooden figures of the hero, painted and dressed them out from his own fancy, and called them, as well he might, highlanders. Then they attacked the credit of our annals and history. In opposition to the current of antiquity, they denied the arrival of the Spaniards into Ireland, and the emigration of the Scots from Ireland to Caledonia, where they at length obtained the sovereignty, and gave the country its present name, in the teeth of their own uniform tradition, and of the testimonies of their oldest historians. Our literary champions, Ward, Lynch, David Batheus, Colgan, Usher, O'Flaherty, O'Halloran, and Chas. O'Connor, general Vallancey, have sallied forth like the Argonauts, to recover the golden prize, and assert its just titles to Ogygia Atlantica. Injuries sit lighter on men of spirit than insults, and justly too. Reputation is dearer than wealth; still more to a nation, or an extensive description of persons, than to an individual. Immortal by nature, they must reap the good or ill annexed to reputation individually, and collectively it is a concern of the first magnitude: and, next to the criminality of deserving a bad character, is the turpitude of abandoning fair fame the prey of foul calumny and falsehood. Further, character never goes alone; it is the natural outguard and bulwark of every man's safety and comfortable existence: if it is surrendered, the enemy will not stop there, but push his attacks against other vital parts, with the

more advantage, as the protecting shield of Reputation is gone.

The virulent chapter on the Irish, Wilkes's favourite number, begins with a bull. "Though the dominion of the English over Ireland had been established above four centuries, it may safely be affirmed, that their authority had hitherto been little more than nominal. Good heavens, what confusion of ideas! how many blunders in one short period. If English dominion had been ESTABLISHED, how could English authority continue little more than nominal? If the authority was nominal, the dominion too must be nominal, since real dominion, without real authority, is unintelligible. Either both are real, or both nominal. " 'Though,' " beginning the sentence, holds out a reason, " the Irish princes and nobles, divided among themselves, readily paid the EXTERIOR MARKS of obeisance to a power, which they were not able to resist; but as no durable force was ever kept on foot, to retain them in their duty, they relapsed into their former state of independence!" More confusion of ideas. That the Irish might have been prudently polite, in complimenting and bowing to their august visitor, Henry II. is not improbable; but the coy abstemiousness of the English monarch, in the use of irresistible power, is so truly admirable, so unlike himself, and all who sat on his throne before and after, that, with irresistible power he could, and no doubt would have wrested substantial pledges of their future obedience. He could have forced hostages from them, establish

a revenue, and a standing army, to be maintained and recruited in the country, to ensure their obeisance. Yet, with all these efficacious means in his hands, he contents himself with mere exterior marks; bid them take care of themselves; departs with his unopposable force, and leaves them just as they were. Here was *nolo regnare, I will not reign, in sincerity.* “Too weak to introduce order and obedience among a rude people.” Consequently, no such power as could not be resisted. “And though it could bestow no true form of civil government, it was able to prevent the rise of any such form, from the internal combination or policy of the Irish.” What form of civil government they could bestow, he has himself, in this very volume, accurately delineated, such as exists now nowhere in Europe, except in Turkey. The latter part is pretty true; for the English colony formed one of the obstacles to the restoration of the Irish monarchy and constitution. Had Mr. Hume taken the pains to procure better information, he would have learned, that the English did not, until the reign of queen Elizabeth, conquer Ireland. That they got their establishment here, by the grant of Mac Murchad, whom they assisted in the recovery of his kingdom of Leinster. That the settlers, in Munster and Connaught, obtained tracts of land from the native princes, through fortunate interferences in the civil broils, occasioned by contested elections to the chieftainry, alliances, and other means, specified in the beginning of this work. That the power of

England extended not beyond the Pale, which was ever tributary to the kings of Leinster, until the twenty-eighth of Henry VIII. “ But the English carried farther their ill-judged tyranny. Instead of inviting the Irish to adopt the more civilized customs of their conquerors, they even refused, though earnestly solicited, to communicate to them the privilege of their laws, and every where marked them out as aliens and enemies. Thrown out of the protection of justice, the natives could find no security but in force; and flying the neighbourhood of cities, which they could not approach with safety, they sheltered themselves in their marshes and forests, from the insolence of their inhuman masters. Being treated like wild beasts, they became such; and joining the ardor of their revenge to their yet untamed barbarity they grew every day more intractable and more dangerous.” Until the reign we are now treating of, the Irish had no occasion to skulk in marshes and forests, except as a temporary expedient, to answer war manœuvres; since they held possession of more than nine-tenths of the soil, until the reign of Elizabeth. I might have said nineteen-twentieths; because the settlers out of the Pale were become Irish, nature and interest baffling barbarous laws. “ As the English princes deemed the conquest of the dispersed Irish to be more the object of time and patience than the source of military glory.” Why not the source of military glory? Ireland was far more valuable and populous than Scotland, yet the kings of England

did not disdain to attempt its conquest. The conquest of Wales also, a poor principality, was thought to contribute something to their fame. The English cabinet was too wise to attempt at once the conquest of the whole island; judging it better to proceed with patience in the task of gradually reducing the petty princes one after another, perpetuating anarchy, fomenting divisions, and causing the Irish to hew each other to pieces. He might have learned, from a close intimacy with Irish affairs, that, instead of being able to conquer all Ireland, a contest of forty years with one Irish chief, during which the greatest English army that ever landed in Ireland, before or since, was foiled, ended in a treaty that confounded English pride, being compelled to pay tribute for tolerating the colony in Ireland. Even so late as the latter period of Elizabeth, when three-fourths of Ireland might be considered as subdued, at least enfeebled, it was considered politic to hide from the declining Milesians the intention of imposing English government on them. Essex, in his letter to queen Elizabeth, says, “if your majesty will have a strong party in the Irish nobility, and make use of them, you must hide from them all purpose of establishing English government, till the strength of the Irish be so broken, that they shall see no safety but in your majesty’s protection.” From this general’s statement it is evident, that no hope was entertained of conquering them by fair war, but by perfidy and inhuman warfare. By all this imprudent conduct of England

the natives of its dependent state remained still in that abject condition, into which the northern and western parts of Europe were sunk, before they received civility and slavery from the refined policy and irresistible bravery of Rome." What a strange confusion of ideas and words! The natives of its dependent state were then independent, if they were as the north and west of Europe were before the Roman conquest. How could the natives of British dependency be independent? When was the north of Europe conquered by Rome? The frontiers of the Roman empire nearest the north of Europe, were Gaul and Pannonia, which are in the middle, not the north of Europe. During upwards of four centuries, Ireland was no more a British dependency than France. The king of England had dependencies in both kingdoms, for the preservation of which they were almost continually at war. They assumed titles from both countries, from which they derived no real sovereignty over either. The lord of Ireland was as little obeyed beyond the Pale, as the king of England and France was out of his feudal French territory. In diplomatic and law language, they were equally accosted as stiled, allies, potentates, or enemies. In Hume's idea, Gaul and Spain were sunk before the Romans blessed them with civility and slavery! Where did they sink from, or into what? Liberty and independence. What an abject condition! From Roman history we may see, if we chuse to enquire, that Gaul and Spain were populous, brave, and wealthy, before civi-

lity and slavery were bestowed on them; necessities and comforts of life were abundant; nor were they destitute of science and education. For my part, I cannot discern any great civilization or improvement introduced by Roman arms into any of the provinces. What little information they possessed, scantily diffused, they entirely borrowed from Athens, which was their only university. Virgil, in his fine eulogium on Italy, prudently disclaims all pretension to competition in pursuits of science and the fine arts, complimenting the Romans with their favourite pursuit, in which only they studied to excel, *parcere subjectis et debellare superbos*, to spare the subdued and conquer the haughty. Indeed were they generally a scientific people, from which they were far, they would not deem it consistent with their civilizing policy to diffuse literature and science in the provinces; because mental illumination and slavery are not congenial associates. Roman civility made them truly, witness the cries of the Britons to Ætius, unable to withstand the predatory incursions of the Scots, and easily conquered by their Saxon allies. Witness the ease with which the uncivilized northerns, comparatively few, overran all the provinces, Italy and Rome itself. — Even at the end of the sixteenth century, when every christian nation was cultivating with ardour every civil art of life, that island, lying in a temperate climate, enjoying a fertile soil, accessible in its situation, possessed of innumerable harbours, was still, notwithstanding these ad-

vantages, inhabited by a people, whose customs and manners approached nearer those of savages than of barbarians." The Irish, surely, owe David Hume many thanks, for this rough-spun compliment. These words are of ambiguous signification. To the Greeks, all nations were barbarians. The Romans copied from them, with an exception to the Greeks. The word itself, borb, rampant, fierce; from borrr, satiety of nourishment, high condition, or, to use a vulgar phrase, 'going out of one's skin,' which was far from being the condition of the Irish in the latter end of the sixteenth century; when, torn to pieces by civil and foreign war, the arts of peace were neglected or crushed, and the infernal policy of Bess and her council, added plague and famine to the wasting sword and fire that laid waste the land. People of savage manners may dwell in any country; but the definition of a savage nation will, I suppose, be admitted to consist, in their subsisting altogether on the produce of the chace, or devoting themselves entirely to that diversion. In that sense, country squires, in Great Britain and Ireland, as well as their huntsmen and hounds, bear some faint resemblance to the savage state. But, that the institutions and manners of a nation, which once made so eminent a figure in Europe, approached the lowest verge of human existence, nearer than to the rude state of the most barbarous Samoeid or Laplander, requires some proof, beyond 'See Spencer throughout.' We cannot suppose, that such a nation practised

agriculture or manufactures; because these are very far removed from savage life, and also from most of those called barbarians, in any degree of improvement or perfection. The agriculture and manufactures of the Irish are well attested, by the traces of the plow; by their unbounded hospitality and entertainment to foreign students; by their numerous monasteries and universities; by their exports; by subterraneous discoveries yearly made; by many written, domestic and foreign authorities. An antient coin or inscription would be greedily adopted as an unquestionable evidence of antient facts; but the early agriculture of the Irish stands on a more solid foundation; its traces are impressed on the rugged brows of now barren mountains, and concealed beneath bogs. This, as a matter of notoriety, might safely be left to its own evidence, which must strike every traveller of Ireland. It was observed long ago by Samuel Molyneux, in a letter to the archbishop of Dublin, in which he says, “Ireland has certainly been better inhabited formerly than it is at present; mountains, that are now covered with bogs, have been formerly ploughed, for when you dig five or six feet deep, you discover a proper soil for vegetation, and find it ploughed into ridges and furrows. This is observable in the wild mountains between Ardmagh and Dundalk, and likewise on the mountains of Altmore; the same, as I am informed, has been observed in the counties of Derry and Donegal. A plow was found in a very deep bog in the latter; and an hedge with

wattles standing under a bog that was five or six feet in depth. I have seen likewise large old oaks grow on land that had the remains of furrows and ridges; and I am told, that on the top of an high mountain in the north, there are yet remaining the streets and other marks of a large town. And, in truth, there are few places, but either at present, or when the bog is removed, exhibit marks of the plow, which surely must prove the country formerly to have been well inhabited." What a stupendous register of an immense lapse of time! A cultivated plain must have been over-run with wood, which would require a long series of years; that wood must grow to maturity, and fall at last, through age and decay, and a bog be formed, which has subsisted immemorially for many centuries; and this justifies the Irish annals, which mention a period when Ireland was desolated from being populous and cultivated, so as to be over-run with woods, and that through the effects of long wars and famine. Morrison, an hostile writer, accompanying the ravager Mountjoy, says, "I was surprised at the beauty and fertility of O'Moore's country, and the neat manner in which it was laid out for tillage." Even Cambrensis says, "the plains are fertile in corn, the mountains are covered with flocks, the woods abound with game." Also, "this island is rich in pasture and agriculture, in milk and honey, and in wines, though not of its own growth;" of course obtained through commerce. Pomponius Mela and Solinus extol the fertility of its pastures,

asserting that the flocks would burst, if not occasionally driven from pasture. Orosius says, that it exceeds Britain in the goodness of its soil, and the temperature of its climate. In the life of St. Kilian, it is called, fruitful of soil; and in the life of St. Rumaldus, the most fertile of all the countries on earth. Stanihurst says, that “few countries could vie with, and none exceed Ireland, in salubrity of climate, fertility, in the abundance of its harvests, delightful springs, commodious rivers, safe havens, stately forests, rich veins of metals, abundance of pasture and cattle.” Sir John Davies calls it, in the language of scripture, “a land of wheat and barley.” Petrus Lombardus says, that “the soil of Ireland is so fruitful, that it bears constantly crops of different kinds, without the intervention of fallowing.

The antiquity of agriculture is lost in the immensity of time: our most antient laws mention the *arech deise*, or tillers, among the seven classes into which the people were divided. Whenever agriculture came hither, it came when *arbor* was the common term for corn, when *orne* meant barley among some people of Europe: when *coirce* meant oats; when *ith* meant wheat; when *ce* meant the earth; *ceate*, a plow; *treava*, plowing; *omare*, a ridge; *citire*, a furrow; *fod*, a sod; *siol*, seed; *brathair*, fallow; when *gort* signified growing corn; *abbui*, ripe, &c. when *mehlui* signified a reaper; *puman*, a sheaf, &c. This vocabulary of agriculture cannot be found among any of the European nations, enlightened

enough to export arts, these last two thousand years and upwards.

Every smatterer in Irish antiquities knows, that the Irish excelled in timber work. I remember to have seen two houses in Shop-street, Drogheda, finished indeed with curious art. The joists of oak were curiously carved, and shaped into ovals, circles, and parabolic sections; the date was carved in the oak, in figures about two feet long, and, as I think, was 1074. I have seen wooden houses in Pilnitz, Reichenau, and other towns of Bohemia and Germany, but none of such curious and elegant, as well as durable workmanship. Smith, in his history of the Co. of Kerry, deplores the neglect with which a curious bridge over the river Inny, which he calls the Irish Rialto, was suffered to fall into decay, for want of a little repair. In the small island of Skelligs, he describes elegant ruins of religious edifices, and the remains of a considerable town still braving the force of winds and seas. He says, that a stone inscription of the house of O'Lehane, dated 1010, was found in its ruins, when rebuilding by the Barrys, who dispossessed the family in the twelfth century. The magnificent ruins of Kilmallock; those in Inis Catha (Scattery) in the Shannon; those of the royal palace of Emania, near Armagh; the cathedral of Ardagh; the church of Mayo, covered with lead, burnt by Turgesius; the cathedral of Armagh, repaired by Gelasius, consecrated primate, anno 1137, and his kiln of 60 feet diameter; the church of Tuam, built 1004;

St. Mary's-abbey, in Dublin, founded by Maol-seachluin, in 1139; the abbey of Baltinglas, by Mac Morrough, in 1159; the abbey of Holy-cross, Tipperary, founded by Mortogh and Donald O'Brien, before the Saxon invasion; the cathedral of Limerick, originally a palace for the kings of north Munster, built in the eleventh century; three grand and spacious bridges, completed in the reign of T. O'Connor, anno 1130, viz. of Athlone, of Ahacrucha over the Shannon, of Donleoga over the Sure; the causeway from Inis Caorach (Mutton island) to the main land, forty feet wide, two miles in length, passable at the ebb of spring tides; the elegant ruins of Boyce and Mellifont, in the county of Louth; the royal bishop of Cashel's chapel, built anno 908; the monument of Feidlim, king of Connaught, surrounded with his galloglachs, executed in fine Irish marble, in the Dominican church near Roscommon, destroyed by drunken dragoons; the crosses, curiously carved in stone, with very antient Irish inscriptions on them, at Cluainmacnois, near Drogheda, are instances of Irish architecture, before the English invasion.

That manufactures flourished in Ireland, various monuments attest: and first, *Leavar na Gceirt*, or the *Book of Public Rights*, mentions swords, shields, mantles, golden bitted bridles, horses richly caparisoned, scarlet and embroidered cloaks, and caps of curious workmanship, among the presents made by the king of Munster to his subordinate princes; as also a ship or ships, in full rigging, to the princes on the sea coast. In

the will of Cathaoir More, made before the battle of Tailtean, the following items occur. To his son Bressil he left five ships of burden, fifty shields embossed, ornamented and inlaid with gold and silver; five swords with gold hilts; five chariots with their harnesses and steeds. To Fiech, another son, among other things, fifty pided horses, with brass bits. The famous Boroimh Laigean, or Leinster tribute, consisted in part of six thousand ounces of pure silver, and six thousand mantles. The linen manufacture flourished here very early, as may be seen in a description of Ireland, printed at Leyden in 1627, quoted by Cambden and archdeacon Lynch, which states, that "Ireland abounds with flax, which is sent ready spun in large quantities to foreign markets. Formerly they wove great quantities of linen, which was mostly consumed at home, the natives requiring thirty ells or upwards in a shirt or shift." That iron was well wrought and tempered in this country, Cambrensis assures us. Speaking of the weapons of the Irish, he says, "they use pikes, javelins, and great battleaxes, exceedingly well tempered;" and, that "they wield the axe with one arm, their thumb extending along the shafts, and guiding the stroke, from whose violence neither helmit, nor coat of iron mail, are sufficient protection; whence it has happened in our days, that a single stroke has severed a heavy-armed horseman in two, thorough his massy covering of iron armour, one side falling one way, and the other a contrary way." How powerful must the arm be, and how

well tempered the weapon, to atchieve what is here related by an eye-witness and an enemy ! “ These hatchets,” he says, “ they always carry in their hand, as walking-staffs, ready instruments of death, not requiring to be unsheathed like a sword, or bent like a bow ; without further preparation than raising the arm, it inflicts a deadly wound.” The story that Rapin tells, from some old English fable or history I know not, about De Courcy, earl of Ulster, proves the reputation of Irish steel in those days. Confined in the Tower, he consented to answer the challenge of a French knight, sent by king Philip to challenge all England. Enlarged, allowed to recruit his strength and prepare for the combat, the French knight saw, dreaded him, and fled. The king and court, desirous to see how his blade would cut, requested he would try it in their presence, and try if he could cut a helmet in two. But he replied, that English blades would not do, he must have his own trusty one from Ireland. The great use made of copper and brass, we not only collect from domestic documents, but from the great quantity of brass hatchets, swords, and other utensils, discovered in modern times, on digging through bogs. &c. Iron succeeded to brass, and iron mines were wrought very early. Nennius, a British writer of the 9th century, speaks of the iron, copper, lead and tin mines of Ireland, (*De Mirab. Hiberniæ*) in the neighbourhood of Lough Lene, or Killarney, in the county of Kerry. When these mines were worked in the last century, they discovered

the shafts formerly sunk, and the implements of mining. On opening many other mines, old shafts have been discovered, and implements of mining found, particularly in a rich lead one on the estate of Thos. Westrop, esq. near the border of the Shannon. In the lead mines of Knockaderry, in the county of Tipperary, old shafts, and other proofs of its having been antiently worked, were found. Stanihurst says, that Ireland was known to be rich in mines of different metals. It could not be without good foundation, that Donatus, bishop of Fesulæ, near Florence, who wrote eleven centuries ago, affirmed, that Ireland abounded with gems, cloth, and gold. In the reign of Tighernmas, cotemporary with Solomon, the first gold mine was discovered in Ireland, as Keating, O'Flaherty and Lynch testify, on the authority of our antient annals. The mine was discovered near the banks of the Liffey, and Jauchadhan, of Cualane, in the county of Wicklow, was the principal conductor of the works. In 1692, a crown of gold was found in the county of Tipperary, raised in chafed work, which must be older than the christian æra, as it has not the cross, which the crowns of christian princes never were without. It was purchased by Jos. Comerford, and preserved in the castle of Anglurre, in Champagne. In 1744, another golden crown, weighing six ounces, was found in the bog of Callen, and sold to Mr. Jos. Kinshallagh, a jeweller of Limerick. From the number of curiosities, gorgets of gold and gold-handled swords, found in this bog, it

is called Golden Bog. The gold corselets found by the Spaniards near Smerwick-bay, in the county of Kerry, and frequently in bogs, of which O'Halloran says he saw twenty, and purchased one, the gold of which was so ductile, as to roll up like paper, prove the reality of our Niaghname, or knights of the golden collar, as well as the knowledge possessed by the antient Irish in the natural history of their own country. It is not a century since those pearls were rediscovered, which, according to foreign writers, abound here; and, according to our own old writers, were used as ear-pendants and ornaments. Airgid sron, or nose-money, to the amount of an ounce of gold, was paid yearly to the Danish tyrants, by housekeepers within their jurisdiction. The great plenty of gold is attested by the quantity of plate used by the sovereigns of Tara, and in the churches throughout the kingdom; even the small bells used at the altars were of gold, or silver inlaid with gold, and ornamented with precious stones, many of which existed in the seventeenth century, as Colgan witnesses. Ard-corn, frequently mentioned in poems, or lofty golden goblets, attest the luxury of private families in this article. Gold and silver derived no value from the stamp or impression, but circulated in pieces called Bon or Nuinge, not round; as we find from Matthew Paris, who relates, that, in the days of king John, the bishop of Norwich, justiciary of the Pale, caused the coin (in the Pale) to be rounded and stamped after the English manner: for antiently pieces

of gold and silver were received as value, in proportion to their weight alone, as to this day in China, Persia, Hindoostan, and formerly among the Tyrians, Jews, Egyptians; as we find by the names of their monies signifying pounds, ounces, scruples, and the like. Thus, in the will of king Cormac, bishop of Cashel, who died A. D. 913, among other bequests are the following: to the abbey of Ardfinan, an ounce of gold, an ounce of silver, a horse and arms. To the church of Lismore, a gold and silver chalice, with silk vestments. To the church of Cashel, four ounces of gold, five of silver, a chalice of gold, and one of silver. To Emly, three ounces of gold, and a mass-book. To Glendaloch, an ounce of gold, an ounce of silver, a horse and arms, with a silk vestment. To the church of Ardmagh, twenty-four ounces of gold and silver. To Inis Catha, three ounces of gold, with a silk vestment, and his benediction. The sumptuary laws, published by general Valancey; mention *aicde airgit*, *bom. nuinge*, *criad nuinge airgit*, *mion oir*, *tan oir*, *rann airgid*, which appear to be different pieces of gold and silver. *Aicde* is explained a bodkin; *mion oir*, a gold diadem. *Airgid mbruhi*, refined silver, is once mentioned in the same law tract.

In shipping, also, antient Ireland was not deficient. The annals frequently mention fleets and naval expeditions; as, the fleets of Eogan More, Labra Loingseach, and Mac Con, before the fourth century. The great naval victory, obtained by the Irish fleet of Munster, over the

Danish fleet in the bay of Carlingford, near Dundalk, in the county of Louth, and from which event the bay and a town on its borders derive their name, Catharlin, meaning a sea-fight, are irrefragable proofs of an Irish navy. Tacitus, in his life of Agricola, affirms, that the harbours of Ireland were more frequented by foreign merchants than Britain; and that Ireland connected the most powerful provinces of the empire, by a great commercial intercourse; as Camden likewise remarks on that very passage.

Before the English invasion, though under an imperfect system of government, this country was distinguished among the nations of Europe. No fact is more fully attested by unquestionable vouchers. We must totally reject historical evidence, or admit that Ireland was the mart of civilization and science for the rest of Europe. Its hospitality and learning are extolled unanimously by all the writers who treat of the middle ages. From all parts of Europe youth flocked hither in crowds, and Irish professors laid the first foundation of seminaries and universities abroad.

The state of Irish learning could not have been very contemptible, to secure it a preference before the Greeks: and it is certain, that Italians, more contiguous to Greece by far, preferred a dangerous and expensive journey to Ireland, before the short and easy passage to Greece. Surely some weighty motives of superior advantage must have decided their choice; for, during the feudal period, travelling was insecure and

expensive. Let it not be fancied, that Greek learning was then extinct: its lustre was doubtless decayed, yet they had, during the middle ages, several learned men, and chief among them was Photius, of matchless erudition. At a much later period, Greek refugees still possessed learning enough to be instrumental in reviving literature and taste in Europe, at a time when they were extinguished, even in their antient western seat, by national calamities. Lord Lyttleton, in his life of Henry II., mentions the topic incidently, with a handsome compliment to the bounty and hospitality of the learned and ancient nation. Venerable Bede treats more largely of the subject; as a man evidently impressed with veneration and gratitude to those eminent benefactors of Europe and mankind. A very competent witness he must be allowed: learned himself; a contemporary witness of what he records, and impartial, though an Englishman. Nevertheless he witnessed only the declining period of Ireland's fame, when her descending glories beamed for a while on the western horizon. It is desirable, that all the records and testimonies, relating to this curious and interesting subject, which are numerous, and dispersed in the different libraries of Europe, should be collected and published. It would fill a large chasm in literary history, and ought to be considered by every friend to Ireland as a work of peculiar national importance. A letter from Aldhelm to Eadfride, published by Usher, speaks thus of the Sacred Island; "Ireland is a fertile and blooming nursery of letters.

You might as soon reckon the stars of heaven, as enumerate her students and literati. There Eadfride imbibed the pure nectar of knowledge: six years he gave to the study of philosophy, and enriched his mind with treasures of the Scotie hive. Such were the crowds of students who resorted to Ireland from Britain only, that it required fleets to carry them." Camden vouches the same; " Our Anglo-Saxons, in them days, flocked from all quarters into Ireland, as the mart of literature, whence we commonly read, in the lives of holy or eminent men, ' He was sent into Ireland for his education;' as we find in the life of Sulgenus, who flourished more than 600 years ago (dating back from Elizabeth,) ' Moved by the example of his ancestors, he went to Ireland, to court the muses, a land far famed for admirable wisdom.' And," continues Cambden, " our English ancestors appear to have borrowed thence their alphabet, as they formerly used the very same which is employed to this day in Ireland; so that Ireland was adorned with piety and the splendour of genius in those ages, when the rest of the christian world lay immersed in darkness." Fifty monks, natives of Rome, were attracted to Ireland by the reputation of that people for piety and learning, and especially the knowledge of the sacred scriptures, which greatly flourished there. Ten of them became the disciples of St. Finl n; as many submitted to the discipline of St. Sennan; as many betook themselves to Brendau; as many to Barraus; and the remaining ten addicted themselves to Kieran

(Colgan, M. Martio, p. 533.) There were twelve foreigners, the elect disciples of St. Synellus in Ireland; into which arrived likewise in a hundred and fifty ships, natives of Rome and Italy, in the company of St. Elice, Romanus Coreuntarius; also one hundred and fifty Romans and Italians accompanied St. Abban, on his return to Ireland. Alcuin, in his life of St. Willibert, and Usher, *De Primordiis*, state, that St. Willibert, understanding that scholastic learning flourished in Ireland, repaired thither with all speed, that he might, in imitation of the prudent bee, cull the mellifluous flowers of piety and learning, and construct in his bosom, as it were, honey-combs of virtue. There he was instructed during twelve years, by the most eminent professors of sacred and humane literature, who was to become the teacher of many people. St. Sampson remained some time in Ireland, and his uncle, St. Umbrafel, father of St. Maglorius, was made abbot. In the same island did Osbert and Lanctrid, two Anglo-Saxon kings, as likewise Constantine, duke of Cornwall, finish their education; as likewise St. Perroc, Gildas, styled Sapiens, or the Wise, Gildas, of Scotland, and Badonicus; St. Cadroc, St. Genorius, Bethcus, together with other religious Britons, followers and disciples of St. Finian, accompanied him on his return to Ireland, after an absence of thirty years. Agilbert, bishop of Paris, came also into Ireland, for the purpose of studying the holy scriptures. (Bede, Usher, and Colgan.)

It would prove an endless task to enumerate

the Irish, who are venerated on the continent for their learning and sanctity. According to the testimony of foreign writers, you might as well reckon the sand of the shore, or the stars of the firmament; they have been estimated to outnumber, in this particular, the whole christian world beside. St. Bernard says, “Ireland poured out swarms of saints, like an inundation, upon foreign countries.” Antissiodorus states, “it may be superfluous to relate (a thing so well known) how all Ireland as it were emigrates to our shores, with her swarms of philosophers.” From all the literary and ecclesiastical monuments of the middle ages it is clear, that the northern nations, who overran the western Roman empire, especially those of Britain, Gaul, and Italy, received the rudiments of the christian faith, and their first bishops, from Ireland, as well as the Germans and Belgians. The earliest seminaries were opened by Irish teachers; as Ratisbon, by Marianus, St. Gall by Gallus, Paris and Oxford by Joannes Erigena, Pavia by Joannes Albinus. To return nearer home, the following monasteries, which were likewise academics, agreeably to the Irish usage, were commenced by Irish doctors there, before Erigena opened his famous school at Oxford; viz. Malmsbury, which owes its name, and existence as a town, to the monastery commenced there by Maildolph; from him antiently called Maildolphsburg, and since contracted into Malmsbury. The celebrated monastery of Glaston, which was likewise an academy of learning, had its commencement from Iri-h-

men, as English authors of the first weight and character testify, and from their testimony primate Usher, in his sylloge. Cambden, says, “ in early times, most holy men held vigils to God in this place, and chiefly Irishmen, who were supported by royal stipends, and educated youth in piety and the liberal arts. They embraced a solitary life, that they might study sacred writ with the greater tranquillity.” Osborne of Canterbury says, “ Many illustrious men, highly instructed in sacred and profane literature, leaving Ireland, came to reside in England, and chose Glaston for the place of their habitation.” In Monmouthshire Tathæus opened a school, at the request of king Caradoch, whither a multitude of scholars flocked from all parts, to learn the seven liberal arts; and the monastery of Lindisfarn, begun by St. Aidan, afterwards bishop; besides several nunneries, instituted by Irish women in England, for the education of female youth. Add to all this, that the first bishops and doctors of Anglo-Saxon race, were every one of them educated in Ireland, or by Irishmen teaching in England. These are the men, who are branded as savages, the apostles of religion, and doctors of learning throughout Europe. Where will the licentious rage of libellers stop? Not satisfied with reviling the living, they blaspheme the illustrious dead; men, great and glorious in their generations, whose titles are not founded, like the false pretenders to fame, on the misery or destruction of their fellow-creatures, but on the godlike beneficence, that marked

their active and meritorious lives; diffusing the blessings of religion, knowledge, civilization and benevolence, far and wide, through the remote nations as well as their neighbours. Such was the character of their public conduct. Follow them into the shades of academic retirement, you will find those venerable sages consistent throughout; equally great in the virtues that adorn private life, as in those that distinguish the more public stations; a life of labour and study; a life of abstinence and sobriety, of devotion and piety, in which the career of private virtue was suspended only to make room for the public duties of administering instruction and consolation to the people; and the relaxation from public duty was the resumption of austerity and labour. From what has been stated, the following poetic description of the sacred island will not be considered too highly coloured.

- “ Far westward lies an isle of antient fame,
- “ By nature bless’d, and Scotia is her name;
- “ Enroll’d in books; exhaustless is her store
- “ Of veiny silver, and of golden ore;
- “ Her fruitful soil for ever teems with wealth,
- “ With gems her waters, and her air with health:
- “ Her verdant fields with milk and honey flow;
- “ Her woolly fleeces vie with virgin snow;
- “ Her waving furrows float with bearded corn.
- “ And arms and arts her envied sons adorn.
- “ No savage bear with lawless fury roves;
- “ No fiercer lions through her peaceful groves;
- “ No poison there infects, no scaly snake
- “ Creeps through the grass, nor frog* annoys the lake.

* Frogs were never seen in Ireland until the reign of king William III. when, along with many other exotics, they were introduced.

“ An island worthy of its pious race,

“ In war triumphant, and unmatch'd in peace.”

Of the fine arts, those that breathe a civilized air, and contribute most to refinement, are, music, poetry and eloquence. The proficiency of the Gathelians in the first is indisputable, and obvious to every hearer who is blessed with a taste for harmony. The monuments of the two last, that escaped the rage of Gothic civilizers, are of sufficient number and merit, as to convince those who understand them, that gross ignorance or poisonous malevolence vented the foresaid abuse on the memory of our departed forefathers. Miss Brooke's elegant translations may justly be appealed to as a specimen of Irish poetry; had we many such translators, we have materials enough for several large folios. That Ireland had long been in a state of decadence is too true; and that every evil of civil confusion and sanguinary anarchy, was aggravated studiously, and zealously, and unremittingly, by the English, who laboured to cut them down by each other's hands, in order to make the remnant and the soil a prey. But then the invaders, in their whole conduct, views, and means of attaining their object, were much nearer the most atrocious savages of the interior of Africa, than the invaded, in all the convulsions of anarchy and civil war. Egypt and Greece, like Ireland, once basked in the sunshine of prosperity and renown. Like it, they have been prostrated beneath the iron yoke of barbarous victors, and languish under a temporary cloud of adversity. The institutions of Ireland bordering on the

savage state! Yet they bore a striking resemblance to the institutions of those nations revered for wisdom by all antiquity. As in Egypt, Chaldaea and Hindoostan, the people consisted of distinct classes, or, as they are called, casts, of different rank, privilege, and avocation, distinguished by different garments and colours, all hereditary. The military, the judicial, the literary, the druidic, the bardic, the agricultural, and the mechanical casts, were all by inheritance, and the number of casts was seven, as in the East. Lest emulation should be extinguished, by hereditary succession to professions, different degrees and titles of honour were awarded to merit, determinable by the unbiassed judgment of the public, on the performances of competitors. The memorials of these things I have seen, in old vellum manuscripts of the Brehon laws, written in the Phœnico-celtic. For example, *seacht ngradh phile*, seven degrees of phile, of which the highest was *ollamh*, or *ard ollamh*. Now, the philosophy of the Milesians included music, poetry, and eloquence, as well as arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, geography, natural history and physic. The fragments of those that have survived persecution, have not been the contrivance or work of savages, but of an ingenious scientific people. I have known cures to be wrought, by recipes taken from these musty records, of diseases, which baffled the faculty to this day, with all their *materia medica*. What shall I say of those relics of antient art yearly dug up? Vases and instruments, for use or or-

nament, in gold, silver, brass, and iron, of curious and elegant workmanship. The most valuable and elegant specimens that I have seen, of these antient monuments of Irish art, three golden serpents of exquisite workmanship, forming an urn by their foldings, purchased by De-laudre from a countryman, and from him by the marquis of Lansdown, I hope to be preserved. These put me in mind of a passage I had read in one of the old vellums, concerning the migration of the Hy-Mbruin tribe towards the Shannon. They divided themselves into three columns, the standard of each was a serpent of burnished gold. I was not confirmed in the belief of this assertion until I saw the reality, and both call to mind the brazen serpent, that was borne before the children of Israel. The same goldsmith has another curious antique, dug from the Irish soil, a golden vase, in form of a cymbal, of no savage contrivance or workmanship. In effect, whether we contemplate the munificent institutions in favour of learning, piety, hospitality, poetry, music; their mild and equitable laws, some of which are still preserved on vellum, of a date antecedent to the christian era. The triennial assembly of the states. Their Olympic games, of which some mention is to be found in the fabulous period of Grecian antiquity. Their antient orders of chivalry. The different titles and degrees of honor, assigned to every kind of merit, in arts, in learning, valour and virtue. The care with which, beyond any other nation, they preserved the records of history. This at-

tention to historic truth was in reality indissolubly interwoven with the constitution ; for every man's rights, privileges and property, depending on pedigree, the antiquary was as necessary as the Brehamh : no clan could want one. Besides the check of mutual jealousy, their works must be revised by the states at Tara, and receive their sanction, before they were admitted as legitimate records.

It is not without contempt and scorn, that any one, informed of the memorable facts concerning the antient, learned, philanthropic and religious race, can read the despicable insult of an infidel historian, telling the world, that the barbarous Baltic rovers contributed rather to civilize Ireland ! He has not named any single species of improvement introduced by them ; not a single art or manufacture, that has any Danish name, or any connexion with a Danish origin. The terms of Irish art and science have a strong affinity with the antient languages of Phenicia and Persia. But the Danes built castles here ! What then ? Does civilization depend on the rude workmanship of them forts, or on stone buildings preferably to wooden ? Whoever experienced the comforts of timber walls, especially during the damp cold winters of these islands, would assuredly not chuse to be environed with damp cold stones. When the dearth and scarcity of timber obliged people to resort to stone fabrics, the opulent still got their walls wainscotted, i.e. lined with timber by Scottish, that is, Irish carpenters. On the contrary, the ferocious plunderers were civilized by those whom they outraged, and from

whom they received religion, letters and arts. They likewise imparted letters, arts and religion, as far as Iceland and Africa, founded colleges and universities in sundry parts of Europe, where their learning and piety is still preserved in memory, in temples, and religious offices. The very names of Gillimer* and Gillus, of the Vandals and Goths, point out the missionaries who baptized them; the one meaning the Servant of Mary, the other the Servant of Jesus.

Hume and Leland agree, in attributing to their ignorance, the inattention of the Irish to the theological controversies that convulsed the greater part of Europe during nearly two centuries. It might, with more justice perhaps, be attributed to the contrary, or to other causes. In the writings of cotemporary protestants, we find much cause to think, that superior information, natural sagacity, or both united, discredited the reformation in Ireland. The preachers of the new faith they describe as ‘sorry curates,’ ignorant, profligate, indolent, careless of the instruction or salvation of the people, so they got the emoluments of a sinecure office. The catholic clergy, on the other hand, are depicted, as animated with indefatigable zeal and perseverance, in the exercise of their functions, sacrificing thereto every personal consideration of ease, health, and frequently at the peril of their lives. From

* Gillimer, king of the Vandals, in Africa, was defeated by Bellisarius, an. 530. His Irish name is a sufficient proof of his having been baptized by an Irish missionary, whose father he had converted, as he is mentioned to have been kind to the church.—Christ. Helveticus, Chron. Hist.

this unsuspecting evidence 'tis easy to infer, which flock was best instructed. The sagacity of the Irish was easily directed to discern the essential point, on which all controversies must depend. A supernatural religion must contain some things undiscoverable and unintelligible to mere human reason, the number and definition of which cannot be settled by it, but by the divine authority, immediate or delegated. Now as that supernatural religion is not revealed to every individual directly, and yet is necessary for all, and for ever, consequently, it must be communicated by delegated authority, extending to all countries and all ages, protected from any noxious error, and commanding silence on the human understanding, in the exposition of the faith. Revealed religion implies, in its conception and definition, a superior and paramount authority, to whose dictates human reason must submit. The Irish must have perceived, on supposition of their being diligently taught the principles of their religion, that christianity was founded on facts, and those of a supernatural kind, claiming implicit belief. That facts, beyond the course of nature, require more than ordinary testimony, unerring. Because supernatural religion, teaching incomprehensible mysteries, deserves no implicit submission, unless supported by unerring testimony, and taught by those commissioned as delegates to preserve and dispense it from generation to generation. Irish catholics saw, that those, who disown infallible testimony and interpretation, have no right to

believe any mystery of the faith. For belief in these mysteries requires a sacrifice of the human understanding, the greatest that man can make to his Creator; consequently, it cannot be made to any fallible authority without idolatry. Nor is the Scripture any refuge in this case; for it also, to those who reject the church, one, catholic, apostolic, and its grave testimony, is but a fallible authority; since all the copies and versions were made by fallible men, who might, through ignorance, inattention, or design, change it materially from the original; and, since the interpreters are all fallible, they concluded, that the reformers, by rejecting the authority of the catholic church, through which the christian faith was handed down to us, without interruption, from Christ and his apostles, rejected religion itself. Indeed authority is so much of the essence of revelation, that it cannot be conceived without it. Why was revelation necessary? The insufficiency and errors of the human mind, on the question of religion, and the abominations practised in the name of worship, called for divine interposition. The understanding was to be controuled, as well as enlightened. God dictated. To him, or to those manifestly delegated by him, the submission of all human faculties is due. The experience of ages before christianity, when the age of reason and superstition existed with the whole Gentile world; the necessity of checking the aberrations of the human mind, and guide it by a sure authority, to which it would submit, became apparent, even to hea-

then philosophers. Cicero, who has left us an epitome of the Greek philosophy, laments the deficiency of the human intellect, to settle the important question of religion. "The question, concerning the nature of the gods, as you know, my friend Brutus, so pleasing in the investigation, so necessary for the settlement of religion, is, as you know, most obscure and difficult; on which there are so many, and such contradictory opinions, published by the most learned of men, as prove sufficiently, that the first principle of sound philosophy is not yet understood." What a candid confession of the impotence of human reason, unguided by divine authority, either immediate or delegated, towards settling the most important of human concerns. As was the case of the heathen schools of philosophy, straying after false lights, precisely similar has been, and ever shall be, the predicament of christian sects, departing from the unity and authority of the church. The one misinterpreted the book of nature, unquestionably the handy-work of God. The other despoil the written work of its legitimate authority, by depriving it of the support of its appointed testimony; and by misinterpreting, mistranslating, interpolating, and erasing, according to the whims of heated imaginations, overweening fancies, and bewildered intellects. Like the heathen schools, their doctrines will be eternally at variance with themselves, and with each other. The Irish catholic was scandalized at the commencement, and could augur no favourable issue to the rupture. He

wondered why people, who professed to worship Christ as God, could doubt his words. He gave a mission to his disciples, such as he received from the Father. He promised to be with them to the end of the world. The gates of hell, that is, death, dissolution, or decay, should not prevail over his church. He that receives you receives me; he who rejects you rejects me. Will they deny, that redemption was for all nations and ages, that the church was accordingly promised perpetuity and universality? or will they say, that God was either unwilling or unable to perform his promise? Do they not know, that St. Paul, and all the apostles, considered the church as the pillar of truth? Well, but there were abuses. Allowed. What divine gift has not been abused by frail mortals? Must all institutions, human or divine, be therefore abolished? The way to reformation, was it to rend asunder the body of Christ, in dissolving the unity of his church? Was it by sacrilege, confiscation, plunder, massacre, and infidelity, that christians were to be reformed? These considerations disgusted Irish catholics with the principles and conduct of the so-called reformers; and long experience has classed them with the results of prudent reflection, warning against the seduction of innovators; an effect which the partizans of innovation vainly endeavour to ascribe to ignorance.

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